





THE

Life of King Arthur.



THE
Life of King Arthur :

FROM ANCIENT HISTORIANS AND
AUTHENTIC DOCUMENTS.

BY
JOSEPH RITSON, ESQ.

Ne tut mençoigne, ne tut veir,
Ne tut folie, ne tut saver :
Tant ont li contur conté,
E li fablur tunt fablé,
Pur lur contes enbelir,
Ke tuz les funt à fables tener.

LE BRUT DE MAISTRE WACE.

No more our long-lost Arthur we bewail.

GRAY.

V
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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE curious work now offered to the world was prepared for the press by Mr. Ritson, with a view to immediate publication, a short time before his death; and the character of the writer is sufficiently established to justify the editors hope of its favorable reception.

The difficulty of the subject may be partly estimated from doubts having been actually entertained by the author, during his early researches, as to the identity of his hero, and fears lest the real Arthur might not, after all, be found :

“ So many of his shadows ‘ had he ’ met,
And not the very king.”

It is proper to add that the orthography latterly adopted by Mr. Ritson, however excellent, has not, on account of its singularity, been preserved.

Stockton upon Tees,
May 2, 1825.

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PREFACE.

No character, eminent in ancient history, has ever been treated with more extravagance, mendacity and injustice, than the renowned Arthur, the illustrious monarch and valiant commander of the Britons. Extolled by some, as greater in power, more victorious in war, more abundant in dominion, more extensive in fame, than either the Roman Julius or the Grecian Alexander ; his very existence has, by others, been, positively and absolutely, denied. In the year 1138, being the third of king Stephen, appeared an elaborate work, in a classical style, and containing two short pieces of elegiac poetry, of singular elegance for that age,* intituled “ *Historia Britonum*, or

* *Diva potens nemorum, terror sylvestribus apris ;*

Cui licet amfractus ire per aethereos,

Infernasque domos ; terrestria jura resolve,

Et dic quas terras nos habitare velis ?

Dic certam sedem qua te venerabor in ævum,

Qua tibi virgineis templa dicabo choris ?”

This elegy, thus Englished by Pope :

“ Goddess of woods, tremendous in the chace

To mountain boars and all the savage race !

regum Britanniae,"† in which this celebrated sovereign, as, at least, in consequence thereof he

Wide o'er th' æthereal walks extends thy sway,
And o'er th' infernal mansions void of day !
On thy third realm look down ! unfold our fate,
And say what region is our destin'd seat ?
Where shall we next thy lasting temples raise ?
And choirs of virgins celebrate thy praise ?

was, according to the author in question, the address of Brutus to the oracular statue of Diana, in the island of *Leogecia*, which he said nine times, himself holding, before the altar of the goddess, the vase of the sacrifice, full of wine and the blood of a white hart ; having encircled the altar four times ; and poured the wine into the fire ; and laid down upon the hart-skin, he, at length, slept. About the third hour of the night, it seemed to him that the goddess stood before himself, and in this manner bespoke him :

" *Brute, sub occasum solis, trans Gallica regna,
Insula in oceano est, undique clausa mari ;
Insula in oceano est, habitata gigantibus olim,
Nunc deserta quidem ; gentibus apta tuis.
Hanc pete, namque tibi sedes erit ille perennis :
Sic fiet natis altera Troja tuis.
Sic de prole tua reges nascentur : et ipsis
Totius terrae subditus orbis erit :"*

Englished by the same poet (see Milton's *Poems*, by Warton, 1791, P. 364) :

" Brutus, there lies beyond the Gallic bounds
An island which the western sea surrounds,
By giants once possess'd ; now few remain
To bar thy entrance, or obstruct thy reign.

became, is represented as a hero of such magnitude, that, having succeeded Uther Pendragon,

To reach that happy shore thy sails employ :
 There fate decrees to raise a second Troy,
 And found an empire in thy royal line,
 Which time shall ne'er destroy nor bounds confine."

This island, of course, was Britain, then called Albion, at which he arrived in good time, and which was inhabited by no one, except a few giants. (B. 1, C. 11, 16.)

Whether these two elegies were composed by Geoffrey of Monmouth may be, reasonably, doubted. Henry, arch-deacon of Huntingdon, appears to have been the best elegiac poet of that age.

† The title varies in the different manuscripts and printed copies. There are three editions, in Latin, under these titles : "*Britannie utriusque regum et principum origo et gesta insignia ab Galfrido Monemutensi ex antiquissimis Britanni sermonis monumentis in Latinum sermonem traducta et ab [Johanne Badio] Ascensio cura et impendio magistri Luonis Cavellati in lucem edita. [Parisiis, MDVIII: quarto] : the second edition [MDXVII], by the same printer, differs very little, and in nothing of consequence, from the former : the third : "Galfredi Monumetensis historiæ regum Britannicæ" apud "Rerum Britannicarum [Hieronymo Commelino edito]: Lugduni, c 15. 15. Lxxxvii: folio. Beside the English version by Aaron Thompson, in 1713, 8vo: and it is a very common manuscript. It is sometimes, called *Liber Bruti*; and the anonymous author of *The Chronicle of Jervaux* (falsely attributed to John Bromton, abbot of that monastery, in the time of Henry the sixth) calls it (in Latin) not only "The history of the Britons," or, "The British book;" but, likewise, "The book of the gests [or actions] of the Britons, vulgarly call'd "*Le Brut*" (see Co. 725, 1153).*

his father, in the kingdom of Britain, he made a sudden assault upon the Saxons, and put them to flight ; that Hoël, his nephew, king of the Armorican Britons, sent him fifteen thousand men ; that he made the Saxons his tributaries ; that he granted a pardon to the Scots and Picts ; that he honoured Augusel with the scepter of the Scots, Urien with that of Murray, and Lot with the consulship or dukedom of *Loudonesia* or Lothian ; that he added to his government Ireland, Iceland, Gothland and the Orkneys ; that he subdued Norway, *Dacia*, or Denmark, Aquitain and Gaul, now France ; that he held his grand coronation-feast at the city of Legions or Caerleon, in Glamorganshire, to which came the kings of Albany or Scotland, Murray, *Venedotia* or North-Wales, *Demetia* or South-Wales and Cornwall ; the archbishops of London, York and Caerleon ; the consuls, dukes, or earls, of the principal cities ; all of whom are enumerated by the most barbarous names ; the kings of Ireland, Iceland, Gothland, the Orkneys, Norway, the Dacians or Danes and the *Ruteni* ; the consul (or earl) of *Bolonia* ; the Duke of Normandy, his butler ; the duke of *Andegavia* or Anjou, his sewer ; the twelve peers of France ;* the Duke of the Armorican Britons,

* The mention of these twelve peers is a strong proof that the author of the British History had read the no less fabulous life of Charlemagne, by a Pseudo-Turpin, which also sug-

with his nobility, who walked with so great an equipage of ornaments, mules and horses, as was difficult to describe ; that, beside these, no prince of any price remained on this side of Spain, who came not at that proclamation : Nor was it wonderful : for, the munificence of Arthur being divulged through the whole world, had allured every one into the love of him : that, upon this occasion, he received a letter from *Lucius Tiberius*, general of the Romans (but totally unknown to the Roman historians), demanding justice for tribute withheld, and injuries done ; and threatening war on his refusal ; which is inserted at length, with the deliberative speeches and arguments of his privy-council, *pro* and *con.* ; that they unanimously agreed upon a war with the Romans ; that *Lucius Tiberius*, called together the eastern kings against the Britons ; that Arthur killed a Spanish giant of monstrous size ; that the Romans attacked the Britons with very great force, but were put to flight by them ; that,

gested to him a name for *Arthur's sword*. This romance is conjectured, by the French antiquaries, to be of the eleventh century ; and was originally printed, in Latin, in "*Germanicarum quatuor celebriores vetustioresque chronographi*, &c. *Francofurti*, à *Simone Schordio*, 1566, folio ; a licentious version, however, in French, having been already published by Robert Gaguin, in 1525, 4to.

in a prodigious battle, for numbers and slaughter, *Lucius Tiberius* was killed, and the Britons obtained the victory ; that part of the Romans fled and the rest, of their own accord, surrendered themselves for slaves !!! Events never heard of before this miraculous history.*

This wonderful book was ushered into the world by Geoffrey of Monmouth, a Welshman, and, in process of time, that is, in the year, 1151, bishop of Saint-Asaph, though, by no means, the only prelate who has owed his advancement

* The Danes, likewise, are introduced, long before that people were known in Britain, their first irruption being in 786, 144 years after the supposed death of Arthur. *Gormund*, king of the *Africans* is, doubtless, *Guthrun* or *Godrun*, vulgarly called *Gormund*, king of the *Danes*, who, having been defeated and made prisoner by king Alfred, was, at his instance, baptized, in 878; and even "the forest of Canute," who died in 1036, is mentioned in Merlin's *Prophecies*, about 430 : accurate chronology ! Moreover, in the forged laws of Edward the confessor, it is said "that the law of *folk-mote* was 'founded' by ARTHUR [a British prince to make Saxon laws], who was formerly the most famous king of the Britons and so consolidated and confederated the whole kingdom of Britain for ever in one. By the authority of this law, the aforesaid ARTHUR expelled the SARACENS, and enemies from the kingdom." (*LL. Anglo-Sax.* p. 204.) Edward, who made the law, was born after 1002 and Arthur, who is said to have died in 542, availed himself of "the authority of this law" made after 1042.

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* Girald Barry, another Welshman, commonly called *Giraldus Cambrensis*, and, by Leland and Camden, for whatever reason, *Silvester Giraldus*, a voluminous writer, was elevated, for the like cause, to the see of Saint David, in 1214 ; as was, likewise, John Bale, of equal notoriety, to the see of Ossory, in 1552 and, in later times, according to honest Tom Hearne, “ the reverend and learned doctor White Kennett, dean [and, afterward, Bishop] of Peterborough, whose *fidelity* and *candour* and *veracity*,” he says, are very *conspicuous* and *well known* to the world” (Preface to the 7th volume of Leland’s *Itinerary*.)

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archdeacon of Oxford, a man learned in the oratorical art and in foreign histories, brought a certain most ancient book of the British language, which, from Brute, the first king of the Britons down to Cadwalader son of Cadwalo, proposed the acts of all daily and in order with very beautiful orations. By his request, therefore, induced, although within foreign gardens I had not collected fine words, nevertheless, content with a homespun style and my own reeds, I caused to translate that book into the Latin language.”*

* This man was Walter of Wallingford, otherwise *Calenius*, who was archdeacon of Oxford between, at least, 1103 and 1152 (see Le Neve's *Fasti*, and Tanner's *Bibliotheca*) and, by no means, Walter de *Constantiis*, who, according to Le Neve, succeeded in 1175, but, probably, much sooner, as he is so styled in the character of a witness to a charter of Henry the second, granted in 1168 (see Charlton's *History* of Whitby, p. 137); much less Walter de *Mapes*, who did not succeed before 1196 and continued to 1223, a difference of ‘69’ years after the death of Geoffrey bishop of Monmouth, who died in 1154. In a copy of Geoffrey's book in Welsh, intitled “*Ystori Brenhinnoedhi y Brytannied o uaith Galfridus Monemuthensis guedi i chy viei thy yn Gymraeg*,” described by Lhuyd as in the possession of Mr. Vaughan of Hengwrt, is the following entry in *Welsh*: “I Walter, Archdeacon of Oxford, translated this book out of *British* into *Latin* and, afterward, in my graver years, have again done it into *British* :” a very likely story, indeed! which, however, puts an end to all pretences of a British original: There is no likelihood or, even possibility, at the same time, either that Walter *Calenius* (who, by the way had that appellation from Wallingford in Berkshire, the place

He, afterward, in a letter to Alexander bishop of Lincoln, (from 1123 to 1147), says, "The love

of his birth, the Latin name whereof is *Caleva* [qu. *Calena*] (See Leland's *Itinerary*, IX. 50) or Walter de Mapes was a Briton, or understood the British language; which no Englishman, it is believed, has ever been known to acquire or even to cultivate, unless it be Sharon Turner, the historian of the Saxons and the defender of the Welsh bards; and to find a Welshman, at a period, when the Welsh were enemies, not subjects, to the king of England, when their princes were continually beheaded or hanged, and the whole people, in fact, universally, by the English, despised and detested, archdeacon of Oxford, would be not a little extraordinary, and is certainly unparalleled in the ecclesiastical history of England. That the modern Welsh, indeed, do not distinguish the original from the translation, admitting them to have both, is evident from their antiquaries having begun to print a palpable translation, in *The Cambrian Register*, as the original. Lambarde, who voucheth his possession of a Welsh copy, older, in his opinion, than Monmouth's translation, seems, in this conjecture, to have been no less unhappy than he was in mistaking a few lines of Robert of Gloucester for a Saxon fragment which substantiated the Story of Brute. He, clearly, therefore, could be no judge of manuscripts. Carte, who seems sufficiently inclined to credit the authenticity of the British history, allows that the copy in Jesus-college, which Wynne asserts to be the same which Geoffrey made use of, "doth not seem so ancient as the time of Geoffrey" (1, vi;) and "is, evidently, according to Warton, "not older than the sixteenth century. There is reason," he adds, "to suspect that most [he might have safely said, all] of the British manuscripts of this history are translations from Geoffrey of Monmouth" (I. a 4). "In the library of the family of Davies, at Llanerk in Denbighshire," he says, "is a copy of Geoffrey's book in the hand-writing of Guttyn Owen,

of thy nobility, Alexander bishop of Lincoln, compels me to translate the prophecies of Merlin

a celebrated Welsh bard and antiquary, about the year 1470, who ascribes it to Tyssilio, a bishop, and the son of Brockmael-Yscythroc Prince of Powis" (*Ibi.*) Lewis Morris, in one of his letters, mentions this manuscript, and says "I have cleared the matter to Mr. Carte, that he is the greatest advocate for the British history, as we had [r. that we have]." (*Cambrian register*, II. 489.) In another letter, however, to Carte himself, he says, "You surprise me with Tyssilio's history of Britain; I have read of no Tyssilio a scholar" (*Ibi.* II, 484.) The fact is, that Lhuyd speaks of "a chronicle written by Tyssilio, which," says he, "I find inserted in H. Salbury's manuscript Catalogue of Welsh words, and was extant, as I have been, credibly, informed, within these fifty years" (*Archæologia*, p. 225). It appears, also, that Archbishop Usher had said, when a young man, that he had seen an old book called "*Ecclesiae Britannicae Historia, autore Tyssillo filio Brochmaeli regis Powysii*:" which book, however, had been lost, or carried to Rome, before 1680, (*Cambrian Register*, 1, 27). So much for the history of Tyssilio, which Guttyn Owen has confounded with the Welsh translation of Geoffrey's British romance. The editors of "*The Myvyrian archaiology of Wales*," who have published in the second volume of that work, TWO WELSH TRANSLATIONS, one under the other, intitled *Brut Tysilio* and *Brut G. ab Arthur* as TWO ORIGINALS, alledge that "The first of these chronicles should have been called after the name of Walter de Mapes, archdeacon of Oxford [an office, it has been, already observed, he did not attain till upwards of forty years after the death of Geoffrey of Monmouth, so that he must have written this chronicle before he was born]; for there is no authority for asserting that Tysilio wrote any thing beside some poetry" (preface vi.)

from British into Latin, before I had written the history which I had begun of the acts of the Britons : for I had proposed to finish that first and explain this work subsequently : lest, while each labour should be in hand, my capacity should the less suffice to either. However, because I was secure of pardon, which the subtile discretion of thy judgment would readily bestow, I have put to the little books my rude pen, and, in a plebeian stile, interpreted a language to thee unknown.* These prophecies, therefore, are inserted about the middle of the book, in which the history is afterward prosecuted. The last chapter is couched in these words : “The kings, however, of those who, from that time, succeeded in Wales, I permit, in matter of writing, to Carádoc of Llancarvan, my contemporary : the kings, truly, of the Saxons to William of Malmesbury and Henry of Huntingdon : whom I enjoin to hold their peace concerning the kings of the Britons, inasmuch as they have not that book of the British language, which Walter archdeacon of Oxford imported out of Britain : which concerning the history of these [kings] being veraciously edited in honour of the afore-

* This bishop, a man of learning himself, was, also, a great patron and encourager of men of learning. It was to him, likewise, that Henry, archdeacon of Huntingdon, dedicated his history of England.

said princes, in this manner into the Latin language I have taken care to translate." It appears, from a very sensible letter of doctor Lloyd, bishop of Saint Asaph, to Thomas Price, printed in Owen's *British remains*, that this famous history made its first appearance in the year 1138.* Henry of Huntingdon, in an epistle to Warin the Briton, which is inserted in several manuscripts of his history, and, according to bishop Lloyd, in some editions of Sigebert's chronicle, with the additions of Robert *de Monte*, otherwise *de Torineio*, or of Thorigny,† to whom Geoffrey appears to have sent, or he had himself procured, an early copy of the British history and

* About the year 1100, according to Warton, Walter, archdeacon of Oxford procured in Armorica an ancient chronicle in the British or Armorican language, intitled "*Brut-y-Brenhined*;" though neither Geoffrey nor any other ancient writer says any such thing, and though he himself, directly referring, in two different places (I, sig. a 4. n. t, e c, n. z), to Geoffrey's original, proves, in a third (I, sig. a 4, n. r. a 4 b, n. 3), that no such original exists.

† The bishop quotes "*App. Thor. [r. Flor.] Wigorn.*" but there is no *Appendix* in either edition, nor does it contain this epistle. This Robert *de Torineio* or *de Monte*, published an edition, of Sigebert's chronicle, which he interpolated and polluted with the new inventions of Geoffrey of Monmouth. See bishop Lloyd's *Letter* to Thomas Price, already, referred to. Warin would seem to have, previously to his enquiry of the archdeacon, acquired something upon the story of Brutus by hear-say.

Huntingdon thus addresses his friend : "Thou enquirest from me, O Warin the Briton, man gentle and facetious, why, narrating the actions of our country, I have begun from the times of Julius Cesar, and omitted the most flourishing reigns, which were from Brutus unto Julius : I answer thee, therefore, that neither by word nor writing, very frequently enquiring after the knowledge of those times, was I ever able to find it : such a violent death of oblivion overshadows and extinguishes the successful glory of the diuturnity of mortals. Nevertheless, in this year, which is from the incarnation 1139, as I was travelling to Rome, with Theobald archbishop of Canterbury, at Bec, where the same archbishop was abbot, I found, to my great astonishment, writings of the aforesaid things. Forasmuch as I there met with Robert de Thorigny, a monk of the same place, a man, as well of divine as of secular books a most studious searcher and accumulator : who, when he questioned me concerning the order of the history of the kings of England, by me published, and that which he asked of me had willingly heard, brought to me a book to read, about the kings of the Britons, who held our island before the English ; the extracts of which kings, as it becomes in an epistle, very briefly, that is, I send to thee with great pleasure." He then gives a list of Geoffrey's

kings, a sort of epitome, that is, of the British history, and concludes by saying: "These are the things which to thee, most dear Warin the Briton, I have promised in few words, of which, if thou desirest more prolixity, thou must, diligently, enquire after the great book of Geoffrey ap Arthur, which I found at the monastery of Bec, where thou wilt find the aforesaid things treated with sufficient prolixity and clearness. Farewell." It, therefore, by this account, plainly appears that Henry had actually published the first seven books of his history (in some copies whereof the above letter is inserted between the seventh and the eighth, in others at the end) before the year 1139, and, also, before he had ever seen or heard of the British history of Geoffrey ap Arthur, or any other book on the same subject. Yet it is asserted, by a late *Enquirer* into history, that "He was the first English writer who adopted the fables of Geoffrey of Monmouth,"* whom he, likewise, never afterward, in the course of five additional books, once mentions, nor follows in the minutest respect; being, it would seem, fully satisfied, upon mature reflection, or further enquiry, of his total want of veracity. The British history, therefore, had,

* *Enquiry into the history of Scotland*, II, 153. That he was the "worst of the old English historians," is equally illiberal and untrue.

manifestly, never been seen, or heard of, either in Briton or elsewhere, before the year 1138, as it is next to impossible that so well informed and, to all appearance, so industrious and inquisitive, a historian as Henry of Huntingdon, a man, at the same time, of eminence and affluence, should not have met with a copy of it or known, at least, the nature of its contents: but the fact is glaring and notorious, that, with an exception of the extracts here and there interspersed in Geoffrey's book, (which, certainly, traces the hand of a prodigious scholar for his age,) from Cesar's Commentaries, Bede's ecclesiastical history, Gildas's querulous epistle on the destruction of Britain, and Nennius's *Eulogium Britanniae*, the legends of saint Alban, saint Dubricius, saint Ursula, or others, not a single name or incident, which occurs in that work, is to be found mentioned or alluded to by any writer or in any book, before the above æra.* That the Britons

* Henry of Huntingdon, it is true, has a "*Coel rex Britannicus de Colecester*" (306), who, likewise, occurs in the British history; which, at first, looks a little suspicious: but, surely, if disposed to plagiarise, he would never have been contented with "*Old king Cole*," and it is, in fact, certain that he had not seen Geoffrey's book till sometime after the publication of the seven first books of his own. This respectable historian, however, according to Warton, "began his history from Cesar and it was only on further information that he added Brute" (I. 120): an assertion, at the same time, without the least

had popular stories concerning Arthur, previous to the publication of Geoffrey's history, is not meant to be denied ; since, beside the evidence of William of Malmesbury, which will be met with in another place, and what Geoffrey himself says, in his epistle dedicatory, already quoted, master Wace, a Norman poet, of singular merit, who reduced the entire work of Geoffrey into French rime, in 1155, observes,

“ *Fist Arthur la ronde table,
Dunt Breton dient meint fable :**”

though Geoffrey of Monmouth's British history makes no mention of it.

It may be possible, therefore, that Walter Calenius, archdeacon of Oxford, had actually brought some book, upon the subject of the

proof, and a gross misrepresentation in fact. It is admitted that, after the publication of his first seven books, he epitomised Geoffrey's history, in a letter to his friend Warin ; but he never made any such additon to his own. It is, likewise, manifest that the *Bruto* (not *Brutus*) of Henry could not have been inserted upon the authority of Geoffrey, who says nothing of *Dardanus*, *Troius*, or *Anchises*. He had, in fact, the whole of this passage from the 3d and 4th chapters of Nennius, as our poetical historian might have easily convinced himself by looking into the book.

* *Le Brut*, manuscript. See, also, the motto to the present pages and other passages throughout that excellent poem. However he came by the round-table, he was, certainly, never indebted to Geoffrey of Monmouth.

British kings, composed in the same language, out of Britany, which Geoffrey made use of, or, it may be, translated, interpolated, enlarged, and, in his own conceit, amended, improved, and rendered more palatable, to men of learning, or to the taste of the times : but that his own work, as we now have it, existed, in whatever shape or language, before his own time, or that the modern Welsh can produce his indubitable original, in the British tongue, is utterly incredible.*

* See before, p. vii. It must be confessed that the inquisitor of Geoffrey ap Arthur seems to be fixed in what logicians call the horned syllogism : as, on the one hand, it may be fairly maintained, that a Welsh priest, apparently a good scholar, and, certainly, in a fair way to be a bishop, at any rate, an ecclesiastic of some consequence and respectability, as being known not only to Walter Calenius, archdeacon of Oxford, who, he says, positively, gave him the original Welsh manuscript, from which he translated the British history ; but, likewise, to Alexander, bishop of Lincoln, a prelate of great learning, at whose instance, in a personal address, he asserts himself to have laid aside this more important history, in order to gratify his lordship with an immediate Latin version of Merlin's prophecies ; and, moreover, Robert, earl of Gloucester, the natural son of king Henry the first, a nobleman, it is certain, of considerable importance, to whom he dedicated the work in question ; setting aside three of the greatest historians of his time, of whom he speaks in terms sufficiently familiar to induce, if not an intimate friendship, at least, a free acquaintance, (William of Malmesbury, that is, Henry archdeacon of Huntingdon, and Carádóc of Llancarvan, his own countryman,)

This new-ancient history was, immediately upon its appearance, or, as soon, at least, as

would or could impose upon such and so many distinguished personages with the most abominable forgery, the most extravagant falsehood, and the most brazen faced impudence, is by no means a proof of those circumstances : as we never find him reviled by, or on the part of, any of these illustrious characters, for so gross an imposition. This, no doubt, is very much in his favour ; but it may be urged, with equal force, on the other hand, that the book which he produced, as a history, is, certainly, a series of palpable and monstrous lies ; that, neither Walter Calenius, nor any other, friend or favourer, of or near his own age, not even his own countryman, Gerald Barry, who, being himself a bishop, might, naturally, have been expected to have stood forward in the defence of such an illustrious precursor, whose steps, in his prelatical pursuits, he had followed with such good fortune : not a solitary Welshman to support him, in any respect, but by following his example ; that the pretended original has never been found, nor any, the least, evidence adduced in favour of its authenticity ; that there have been forgers, of as much art, talent, falsehood and impudence, in other ages, whose literary impostures have, for a time, at least, been, altogether, as successful : John Fordun, for instance, Hector Bois, Annus of Viterbo, George Buchanan, James Macpherson, Thomas Chatterton, and a variety of other such respectable characters. It is a thousand pities that John Pinkerton had not flourished in the age, and enjoyed the friendship of Geoffrey of Monmouth ; that he might have certified, with his sacred signature, the integrity and truth of the original manuscript of that veracious historian, as he did the no less genuine *Shaksperiana*, of William Henry Ireland. (Samuel, his father, had no hand in this forgery, though it cost him his life).

copies could be procured, seized, with avidity, by the eager and the weak, whose zeal and ignorance disqualified them from distinguishing between history and fable.* Alfred of Beverley

* A Welsh translation of Geoffrey ap Arthur's British history, under the title of "*Brut Breninodd ynys Prydain : neu Brut y Breninod*," or "*Brut Tysilio*," has been inserted in a late publication intitled "*The Myvyrian archaiology of Wales*," although the editors allow that "there is no authority for asserting that Tysilio wrote any thing, beside some poetry" and that this chronicle "should have been called after the name of Walter MAPES, archdeacon of Oxford, who "did turn this book out of Welsh into Latin and, in his old age, turned it the second time out of Latin into Welsh." It is absolutely impossible, that Walter MAPES (made archdeacon of Oxford in 1197) was any way connected with Geoffrey of Monmouth, who died in 1154) or that he or any other Walter, archdeacon of Oxford, did actually translate or was capable of translating, Geoffrey's book, either backward or forward, nor can any thing be more absurd than to illustrate one translation by another, both from a common original. If, indeed, any reliance could be placed in the genuineness of the *Afallenau Myrddin*, or Merlin's orchard, supposed to have been written by *Myrddin ap Morfryn* or *Myrddin wyll*, *Merlinus Sylvestris* or *Caledonius*, about the year 550, and mentioning *Medrawd*, *Arthur*, *Gwenhwyfar* and the battle of *Camlan*, nothing would more effectually tend to prove that either Geoffrey or his British author, had worked, at least, on ancient materials: but, unless a manuscript could be produced, in the Welsh language, anterior to the twelfth century, (which it is believed, does not exist,) the probability is very powerful that every remnant of British literature, whether poetical or historical, in which mer-

was the first who, in 1149, deflowered the chaste beauties of Geoffrey of Monmouth, whose narrative, he says, was then in the mouths of several, so that he who had no knowledge of it incurred the mark of a clown : he had procured a copy of it, it seems, with difficulty and never once mentions his name.* To him may be added Ralph de Diceto, Florence of Worcester, Robert of Gloucester, Roger of Chester, Randal Higden,

tion is made of Arthur, the son of Uther Pendragon, or any coincident with Geoffrey of Monmouth, has been composed or interpolated since his time. "If some accounts of Arthur," says Whitaker, author of the "History of Manchester," "be certainly, *spurious*, others are as certainly *genuine*," (4to edition, II, 32). "The *genuine* actions of the chief are mentioned by *his own historians*." (*Ibi.*) none of which, however, he is able to authenticate or produce : unless by quoting the forged "Antiquities of the church of Glastonbury," falsely imputed to William of Malmesbury ; "the romance of *La morte d'Arthur*," "founded, chiefly," he says, "on local traditions and real histories."

* He says, in one place, "*Quintus, id est, ultimus Britanni regni status sub xii. cucurrit regibus, de quibus non parva parvitatem meam meditacio vexat, quid causæ extiterit, quod de inclito rege Arturo nichil Romana, nichil Anglorum hystoria meminerit.*" (p. 76.) (Thus in English : The fifth, that is, the last state of the British dominion ran under twelve kings, of which no little study troubles my littleness, what could have been the reasons, that of the famous king Arthur, nothing the Roman [history], nothing the history of the Engles should have made mention.)

Matthew of Westminster, the author of *Brute of England*, and innumerable other historians, of more or less merit, down, almost, to the present time, made it the foundation and most brilliant ornament of their respective works. Even the supposititious laws of Edward the confessor are convicted of forgery by the story of Arthur. It spread rapidly, likewise, into foreign countries,* and was every where eagerly permitted to impregnate and pollute the genuine history of ancient times; so that few, if any, writers are to be found who have not, in a greater or less degree, in giving an account of the Britons, adopted these romantic fables for authentic facts.† There were, however, at a very early period, some few men of penetration and judgment who could not suffer such a palpable and impudent forgery to pass without indignant reprobation. The first, of those that appeared in the lists, was William of Newbrough, who died in 1208, in the preface to his own chronicle; where he has given a sort of *Critical review* of this famous history which

* *Ordericus Vitalis* had been fortunate enough to obtain a copy before 1141, just in time to give an extract from Merlin's prophecies; as he finished his history in this year, in which also he is supposed to have died. See h. 887.

† See what has been, already, said of Robert de Thorigny, p. xii.

deserves to be transcribed ; as being not only a criticism of extraordinary merit, for the time, but even the only thing of the kind to be found in ancient English history.

“The venerable priest and monk, Bede,” he says, “wrote the history of our nation that is of the Engles : who, doubtless, took up his beginning the lower that he might the more competently attain to that which he especially intended : he even, with artful brevity, glanced at the more celebrated actions of the Britons, who are known to have been the first inhabitants of our isle. The nation of the Britons, however, had their own historiographer, Gildas, before our Bede, which he also witnesseth, inserting certain words of his in his letters ; as I myself proved, when, some years ago, I fell upon reading the book of the same Gildas. For, as it is very unpolished and insipid in stile, few caring either to transcribe or possess it, it is rarely found.* It is nevertheless, no light document

* It is more common at present, having gone through no less than five several editions in Latin or English, and, though not much, indeed, of a history nor otherwise undeserving of the character here given of it, is, at the same time, a curious and valuable remnant of antiquity, to which as some one, falsely assuming the name of William of Malmesbury, mentions “Gildas the historian, to whom the Britons owe, if they have any, [their] reputation among other people.” More is said of him hereafter.

of his integrity, because, in producing the truth he does not spare his own nation, and when, very rarely, he speaks good of his countrymen, he deplores many evils in them, nor feared, that he would not conceal the truth, a Briton to write of Britons, that "they were neither brave in war, nor faithful in peace." But, on the other hand, a certain writer has started up in our times, for expiating these specks of the Britons, weaving together ridiculous fictions concerning them, and, with impudent vanity, lifting them up far above the valour of the Macedonians and the Romans. He is called Geoffrey, having the surname of Arthur; for this reason, that the fables concerning Arthur, taken from the ancient fictions of the Britons* and increased out of his own store, by the overdrawn pretence of the Latin tongue, he hath clothed with the honourable name of history: who, also, with greater daring, the most fallacious divinations of one Merlin, to which he has, certainly, added very much of his own, while he translated them into Latin, hath published as prophecies, authentic, and supported by immoveable truth, and this

* He takes it for granted, therefore, that the fables of Arthur, in Geoffrey's history were partly taken "*ex priscis Britonum figmentis.*" Nothing of this kind, however, appears to be now extant.

Merlin, in fact, he fables to have been born of an incubus-devil-father of a woman : to whom, beside, as if taking after his father, he has attributed the most excellent and extensive prescience of things to come : when, assuredly, and with true reasons and the sacred writings, we are taught, that the devils, secluded from the light of god, by no means foreknow things to come by contemplation, but collect certain future events from signs, better known to them than to us, more by conjecture than knowledge. Finally, in their ever so much subtler conjectures, they are often deceived and deceive : when, yet, by the prestiges of divinations, with the unskilful, they may arrogate to themselves the prescience of things to come, which they assuredly have not. Truly, the perspicuous fallacy of the divinations of Merlin is in these events which are known to have happened in the kingdom of the Engles after the death of the before-named Geoffrey, who translated the trifles of these divinations out of British : to which, as it is not vainly believed, he added much from his own fiction. Moreover, to those which happened either before him or in his own days, he, in such wise, tempered his own fictions, which he, certainly, could easily do, that they might receive congruous interpretation. Beside,

in his book, which he calls *The history of the Britons*, HOW PETULANTLY AND HOW IMPUDENTLY HE LIES, almost, through the whole, no one, unless acquainted with the old historians, when he shall dip into his book, is permitted to doubt. For he, who hath not learned the truth of things done, admits, indiscreetly, the vanity of fables. I omit how many of the acts of the Britons, before the empire of *Julius Cesar*, this man hath feigned or, feigned by others, hath written them as authentic. I omit whatsoever he has raved in praise of the Britons, against the faith of historical truth, from the time of *Julius Cesar*, under whom the Britons began to be of the Roman empire until the time of *Honorius* the emperor, under whom the Romans, by reason of the more urgent business of the republic, voluntarily departed from Britain. Certainly, the Britons, the Romans departing, become their own masters, yea rather left to themselves, to their own ruin and exposed as prey to the Picts and Scots, are read to have had a king Vortigern, by whom, for the protection of the kingdom, the Saxons or Engles, under their leader Hengist, came into Britain; the barbaric irruptions they repelled for a time, but, afterward, having spied the fertility of the island and the sloth of the natives, the league being broken,

they turned their arms against those by whom they had been invited: who being shortly routed, their wretched remains, which are now called Welsh, they straitened in impassable mountains and woods, and had, by a series of succession, most brave and widely governing kings: of whom were Ethelbert, the great grandson of Hengist, who, his empire being extended from the Gallic sea into the Humber, took up the light yoke of Christ, at the preaching of Augustine; Alfred, who, presiding over the Northumbrians, subdued, at once, the Britons and the Scots, with vast slaughter; Edwin, who, succeeding to Alfred, reigned, at the same time, over the Engles and the Britons; Oswald, his successor, who governed all the people of Britain. It will be evident, that these things, according to the historical truth displayed by the venerable Bede, are authentic: all things which this man has taken pains to write, concerning Arthur, and either his successors, or, after Vortigern, his predecessors, partly by himself, partly, also, by others, have, it is evident, been feigned, either by the unbridled passion of lying or even for the sake of pleasing the Britons, of whom a great many are reported to be so brutish, that they are said to expect that Arthur is yet, as it were, about to come, nor can

they bear to hear that he is dead.* Finally, he makes *Aurelius Ambrosius* succeed to Vortigern (the

* Certainly, such a tradition existed among the Britons or Welsh, before the time of Geoffrey of Monmouth. It is mentioned by William of Malmesbury, who, observing that the sepulchre of Arthur had never been discovered, adds, "whence the antiquity of elegiac songs and fables, that he is yet to come." (B. 3, P. 115.)

Master Wace, in his *Roman de Brut*, a liberal translation from Geoffrey of Monmouth, finished in 1155, after relating the battle of Camblan, proceeds to tell us, modestly enough :

*" Artur, si la geste ne ment,
El quer fu nafre mortelemnt,
En Avalon se fit mener,
Pur ses plaes mediciner ;
Uncore i est, Breton l'atendent,
Si com il dient e entendent ;
De la vendra, uncore pot vivere.
Meistre Wace, ki fist cest livre,
Nen volt plus dire de sa fin
Ke en dist le prophete Merlin :
Merlin dist de Artur outdraït,
Ke sa mort autuse serreit.
Li prophete dist verité,
Tut tens en ad lom puis doté,
E dutura co crei tut dis
Sil est mort u il est vifs."*

(—"Arthur himself thore
Men sais he wonded sore,
For his wondes wer to drede,
Therfor, thei did him lede

Saxons, whom Vortigern had sent for, being defeated and expelled) egregiously reigning in the

Into the 'ile' of Avaloun
 And thus sais ilka Bretoun :
 That olyve ther he es,
 Man in blode and in flesch
 And after him yit thei loke.
 Maister Was, that 'made' this boke,
 He sais no more of his fine
 Than dos the prophete Merlyne :
 Merlyn sais, full mervailous
 That Arthur [s] dede was doutous ;
 Therfor, the Bretons drede
 And sais he lyves in lede :
 But I say thei trowe wrong
 If he 'lyve' his life is long ;
 Bot the Bretons loude lie,
 He was so wonded him burd die.")

(ROBERT OF BRUNNE.)

The French, in fact, have an old romance, in manuscript, intitled, "*Roman d'Arthus le rethoré*" (that is, Arthur restored or revived). *Alanus de Insulis* or Allan of Lile, who wrote a book under the following title and died in 1202 :

"*Prophetia Anglicana [l. Britannica] et Romana : hoc est, Merlini Ambrosii Britanni, ex incubo olim, ante annos mille ducentos in Anglia [l. Britannia] nati vaticinia, à Galfredo Monumetensi Latinè conscripta, unà cum septem explanationum in eandem prophetam, excellentissimi sui temporis oratoris, poly-historis [falsò] et theologi ;*" *Francofurti* 1608, octavo. In this book, after reciting this part of one of the pretended prophecies of the visionary Merlin (*apud Galfredi Monumetensis Historia regum Britanniae*, L. 7, c. 3), which speaks of A "boar of

whole of Britain, and to him gives Uther-Pendragon, his brother, for successor, reigning with

Cornwall," who shall give his assistance.—"The house of *Romulus* shall dread its fierceness and his end shall be dubious:" this boar Allan applies to Arthur, and thus proceeds: "Most, truly, indeed, as at this very day, the various opinion of men proves concerning his life and death: but, if you do not believe me, go into the Armorican kingdom, that is Less-Britain, and proclaim, through the ways and streets, Arthur is dead, in the manner of other dead men, and, then, certainly, you will prove by the thing itself that the prophecy of Merlin is true; if, nevertheless, you should be thence able to escape free; but you [will] either be stifled by the curses of the hearers or, certainly, be overwhelmed with stones (B. 1, P. 19, 20). It may be fairly inferred that, about this time (as, in fact, it is proved by William of Malmesbury), that this notion had become a proverb, in use to ridicule those who were ever ready to believe any thing, manifestly, impossible or absurd. This occurs in the 57th epistle of *Petrus Bloensis* (Peter of Blois), who was contemporary with Allan *de insulis*.

"*Quibus si credideris*

Expectare poteris

Arturum cum Britonibus."

This idea seems to be, continually, running in his head, for, in the 34th epistle: "As yet," he says, "I conceive the wishes of a more fortunate event and, peradventure, with the Britons, I tarry for Arthur, about to come, and, with the Jews, expect the Messiah,"

"In Sicily," according to Gervase of Tilbury, "is mount *Ætna*. . . In the desert of this mountain the natives relate that the great Arthur hath appeared in our times. For when, on a certain day, the keeper of the palfrey of the bishop of

no unequal power and glory ; inserting more things about his Merlin, by a profuse liberty of

Catania would have beat the horse committed to him, the horse, by a sudden impulse of lasciviousness [or] fatness, leaping and betaking himself to his own liberty, fled. Being sought, by the servant following him, through the arduous and precipitous parts of the mountain and not found, fear arising to the footman, he sought him about the obscure parts of the mountain. Why more words? a most narrow, but plain place was found : the lad came into a most spacious plain, pleasant and filled with all delights and there, in a palace constructed by wonderful art, [saw] Arthur, lying on a couch of royal furniture and when, from the stranger and foreigner, he demanded the cause of his arrival, the cause of his journey being known, he immediately caused the bishops palfrey to be brought and commended to the servant that it should be restored to the bishop ; adding, that he there, of old, in a battle, with Mordred, his nephew and Childeric, general of the Saxons, his wounds every year bleeding afresh, had long remained sick ; yea, rather, as I received from the natives, he destined his presents to that prelate, which were seen by many, admired by more, with fabulous novelty. But, in the forests of Britain, Greater or Less, similar things are reported to have happened, the foresters relating it, that they, in every other day, about noon and in the first dead times of nights, under the full-moon, the moon shining, have very often seen a number of men hunting and the noise of dogs and horns, who, to those enquiring, affirm that they are of the society and family of Arthur." (*Otia imperialia* (Scrip. Bruns. Leibnitii, I, 921). This seems to resemble the *familia Hellequini*; see *Speculum historiale Vincentii*.

The Sicilians, of this day, have a tradition that the British Arthur is still preserved alive with them, by his sister Morgau,

lying. To Uther-Pendragon, being deceased, he makes Arthur, his son, to succeed in the kingdom of Britain, the fourth from Vortigern, as our Bede puts Ethelbert, the patron of Augustine, in the kingdom of the Engles, the fourth from Hengist. Therefore, the reign of Arthur and the entry of Augustine into Britain ought to concur. But how much the mere truth of history will prejudice the falsity contrived in this place, may be clearly seen by the quickness of

La fata Morgana, whose fairy palace, a singular phaenomenon, is occasionally seen from Reggio, in the opposite sea of Messina. (See Swinburne's *Travels in the two Sicilys*, II, 263.)

“ Because he [Arthur] is said to be buried in the monasterial church of *Glasinbery* [Glastonbury], with this kind of epitaph :

Hic jacet Arthurus, rex quondam, rexque futurus,

it is believed by the vulgar that he still lives and, as it is sung in comedies, is about to come by surprise, to restore the dispersed and exiled Britons to their own. (*Scotichronicon*, see Hearne's edition, p. 218).

Cervantes, upon whatever authority, put the following relation into the mouth of Don Quixote : “ Have not your worships read the annals and histories of England whence are treated the famous actions of king Arthur, . . . of whom is an ancient and common tradition in all that kingdom of Great Britain, that this king did not die, but, by the art of enchantment was converted into a crow, and that, in process of time, he is to return to reign and to recover his kingdom and sceptre : for which reason it was never proved, that, since that time to this, ‘ an’ Englishman hath killed a crow.” (Part I, chap. xiii.)

the mind, even by one sand-blind. This Arthur, however, he makes famous and respectable over all men, and wills that he should be as great in his actions, as it has pleased him to feign. Finally, in the first place, he makes him to triumph, at pleasure, over the Engles, Picts and Scots: afterward to subjugate to his dominion, Ireland, the Orkneys, Gothland, Norway, Denmark, partly in battle, partly, also, by the sole terror of his name. To these, likewise, he adds Iceland, which, according to some, is called *ultima Thulé*, that to that Briton, in truth, may appear to belong that which was flatteringly said to Augustus the Roman, by a noble poet :

——— *tibi serviet ultima Thule.*

Afterward, he makes him to vex the Gauls,* in battle and over them, in a short time subdued, most happily to triumph: whom Julius Cesar, with the greatest dangers and labours, could scarcely subjugate in ten years: that the least finger, namely, of the Briton may appear [heavier] than the loins of the great Cesar. After these victories, he brings him back into Britain,

* Not the *Gallos*, or people, but *Gallias*, the countries, Cisalpine and Transalpine Gaul. The Franks, however, and not the Gauls, had the possession of the latter country in Arthur's time, having served the original inhabitants pretty much as the Saxons did the Britons.

with manifold triumph and makes him, with the subdued kings and princes, celebrate a most famous feast, at which are present three archbishops, namely, of the Britons, of London, of Caerleon, and of York; whereas, the Britons, in fact, never had one archbishop. For Augustine, having received the pallium from the Roman pontiff, was made the first archbishop in Britain. But the barbarous nations of Europe, also, formerly converted to the faith of Christ, content with bishops, did not regard the prerogative of the pallium. In fine, the Irish, Norwegians, Danes, Goths, when, formerly, they are known to have been christians and to have had bishops, have, in our time, begun to have archbishops.* Thence the fabler, that he may carry his Arthur to the highest pitch, makes him to denounce

* It is probable that our author has been a little too hasty in asserting that the Britons had no archbishops: saint David is, constantly, in old Welsh manuscripts, called archbishop of Menevia; as saints Dubricius and Teliaus are archbishops of Llandaff.

“About a year after [905],” says Caradoc, “died Asser, archbishop of Wales” (906. “*Obiit Asser, Cambriae archiepiscopus*”). *Historie of Cambria* [1584]; Usher, 52. Asser, bishop of Sherburn, who wrote annals “Of the actions of Alfred,” and died in 910, mentions an archbishop “*Novis (or Nonis) propinquum meum.*” (P. 49.)

war against the Romans: before this war, in single combat, to overthrow a giant of wonderful size ; whereas, after the times of David, one can read of no giant. In the sequel, by a more profuse license of lying, he makes to assemble against him, with the Romans, the great kings of the whole world : that is to say, of Greece, of Africa, of Spain, of the Parthians, of the Medes, of the Iturians, of Libya, of Egypt, of Babylon, of Bithynia, of Phrygia, of Syria, of Bœotia, of Crete, and relates that all were by him defeated in one battle : whereas Alexander, that great man, and famous in all ages, sweated for twelve years in overcoming the princes in some of such great kingdoms. Certainly, he makes the little finger of his Arthur heavier than the loins of Alexander the great, especially when, before this victory of so many kings, he makes him commemorate to his followers, in a harangue, the subduction of thirty kingdoms, already made by himself and them. But our fabler could not find so many kingdoms in our globe, beside those mentioned, which, certainly, he had never subdued. Does he dream of another globe, having infinite kingdoms, in which those things happened which he has above-mentioned ? forasmuch as, in our globe, such things never happened. For how could the ancient

historiographers, to whom it was great care to omit, in writing, nothing memorable, who are even known to have committed to memory indifferent things, pass over in silence this incomparable man and his acts, above measure remarkable? How, I say, came they to suppress in silence either Arthur, monarch of the Britons, more noble than Alexander the great and his acts, or Merlin, prophet of the Britons, equal to our Isaiah and his sayings? For what less has he attributed, in the foreknowledge, that is, of future things, to his Merlin, than we to our Isaiah: unless that he did not dare to insert in his prophecies, *These things said the lord*, and was ashamed to insert, *These things said the devil*; forasmuch as this ought to suit a prophet, the son of an incubus demon? As, therefore, the ancient historians have made not the slightest mention of these things, it appears that whatsoever things, about Arthur and Merlin, this man has published in writing, to feed the curiosity of the imprudent, are feigned from liars: and it is to be noted, that he, afterward, relates that the same Arthur, mortally wounded in battle, having disposed of his kingdom, went, to have his wounds cured, into that island, which the British fables feign, of Avalon: not daring, for fear of

the Britons, to say that he is dead,* whom yet, in truth, the brutish Britons expect to come. But, of the successors of Arthur, he lies with equal impudence, attributing to them, until, almost, the seventh generation, the monarchy of Britain, and making petty kinglets and ministers of those whom the venerable Bede says were the bravest kings of England, nobly governing universal Britain. As, therefore, to the same Bede, of whose wisdom and sincerity it is not lawful to doubt, faith, in all things, should be had : that fabler, with his fables, without doubt, should be rejected by all."

Doctor Powell, who republished the abridgement of Geoffrey's history by *Ponticus Virunnius*, along with the itinerary and description of Wales by Girald Barry, in 1585, observes in his preface to the first of those treatises that the faith of Newbrough in this matter is not proved to him : because, he says, " in our annals, written three hundred years before, I find it declared, in terms, that this William (who is there called *Gwilym*

* Certainly, his exact words are these : " That famous king Arthur was mortally wounded [in Cornwall, at the river *Cambula*], who, thence, being carried into the island of Avallon [apples] to be cured of his wounds, to his kinsman Constantine, the son of Cador, duke of Cornwall, he judged in the year from the incarnation of the lord 542. (B. xi. C. ii.)

bâch, that is *Gulielmus parvus*, *Guillaume Petyt*, or William Little),* after the death of Geoffrey Arthur, bishop of *Elguen* (otherwise Saint Asaph), when he had sought for the bishopric, about 1165, and suffered a repulse, and being illtreated by David, the son of prince Owen, thence to have taken cause of back-biting and, afterward, vomited the venom of his malice upon the British nation, which, to a prudent reader, also, will," he thinks, "easily appear, from the acrimony and bitterness of his writing:" in answer to which, one need only say, with honest Tom Hearne: "I wish Powell had described the very words of these annals, and indicated in what place or in what library, he found it."

Even Girald Barry, himself a Welshman and a bishop, calls the British history a lying book: "*Sicut FABULOSA Galfridi MENTITUR historia.*"† The same author, likewise, mentions a Welshman, in his own time, whose name was *Melerius*; he was expert in magic and familiar with devils. Inspecting a book full of lies and either written

* He is found under all these names (except the Welsh); was born at Bridlington, in 1135 and, from his being a canon of Newbrough, near Coxwold, in Yorkshire, is usually called *Gulielmus Newbrigensis* or William of Newbrougg. See Hearne, Cave, Tanner, &c.

† *Description of Wales* C. 7.

falsely or even containing in itself what was false, he straitway, though he were, altogether, illiterate, put his finger to the place of falsehood. It happened, upon a time, the unclean spirits too much insulting him, that he put in his bosom the gospel of saint John ; when, instantaneously, these devils, flying like birds, all entirely vanished : which gospel being, afterward, taken away and the history of the Britons, written by Geoffrey Arthur, substituted in its place, for the sake of the experiment, not, only, to his whole body, but, also, to the book put upon him, they sat a long while, more frequently and more offensively than usual.* It is not, therefore, true, that John Wethamstede, abbot of Saint-Albans, and a writer of great merit, about the year 1460, was “ the first opposer of the story of king Brute,” as bishop Nicholson asserts, from “ John Stow’s preface to his chronicle ;” neither does it appear where Whethamstede has made such opposition ; which, however, will, undoubtedly, do him credit when discovered.† The history of Geoffrey, bishop as he was, has been, likewise, pronounced,

* *Itinerary of Wales*, B. I. C. 5.

† His words, as cited, by Norden, in his *Speculum Britanniae*, 1593, p. 3, are “ *Totus processus de Bruto illo est poeticus, potius quàm historicus :*” but whence he had them does not appear.

without the least ceremony or respect, by mynheer Scriver, a Dutch critic, "a great, heavy, long, thick, palpable and most impudent, lie: which," says he, "the learned will know without my admonition or demonstration,"* and sir William Temple has declared, "That it is a tale forged at pleasure, by the wit or folly of its first author, and not to be regarded,"†

It must, indeed, respecting the Britons or modern Welsh, be confessed, that no people in the world can have more vanity or less judgment. As conclusive proofs of this assertion, they have all along believed and still do believe, not only the authenticity of the celebrated history, of which we are, at present, discussing the merits, but, also, its internal veracity and even infallibility, as if the offspring of divine inspiration, though abounding as we have seen and shall see, more and more clearly, in looking over it, a lie in every leaf, with the most extravagant and absurd events; and being, throughout, altogether contradictory to and contradicted by, the Roman and Saxon history, and that, in short, of every ancient nation. To prove, if possible, in a stronger degree, the singular propensity and perverseness of this extraordinary people, John

* Sheringham, p. 8.

† *Introduction to the history of England.*

Lewis, esquire, barrister at law, one of its most esteemed antiquaries, as they call them, and, in the bulk, at least, if not the matter and merit, of his work, its principal historian, having, about the year 1613, composed or compiled, what he was pleased to intitle, “The history of Great-Britain, from the first inhabitants thereof, till the death of Cadwallader, &c.” being printed and published at London, in a large and pompous folio, in 1729, and edited, with a parallel introduction, by one Hugh Thomas, another Welshman, equally idiotical. This verbose historiographer, not content with the series of British kings, invented or improved by Geoffrey of Monmouth and commencing with Brute, great-grandson of Æneas, 1159 years before the christian æra, has deduced his chronology “from the floude to Brute,” on the immaculate authority of “The five books of antiquities of Berosus [the Chaldean],” one of the infamous and long-before-exploded, forgeries of John Annius of Viterbo, a monk of the order of saint Dominick, edited at Rome in 1497, folio; which one might be well assured would be greedily swallowed by the Welsh antiquaries, among whom was Humphrey Llwyd, in Mr. Camden’s opinion, one of the best of his time; who, in his “*Britannicæ descriptionis commentariolum* (Coloniæ, 1568),

speaking of the antiquity of the British tongue, he adds, “ *Antiquissimam etiam fuisse ex BEROSO, ANNIO, Giambullario et Postello, liquet* ” : admirable authorities, no doubt, for a Welsh antiquary ! The first monarch of this more ancient series is “ Gomer, the father of [the] *Cymbri* and Gaules,” the second, Samothès, Dis or Dis-celta ; and so he goes on, to Magus, Sarron, Druys, Bardus, Longus, Lucus, Celtes, Galates, Narbon, Lugdus, Belgius, Jasius, Allobrox, Ægyptus, Parys, Olbius, Galates, *junior*, Namnes and Francicus : all perfect nonentities and men of straw ! To this mendacious, impudent, and absurd farago, the romance of Geoffrey Arthur, which, certainly, has no inconsiderable smack of both scholarship and talent, is truth and lustre. It is, nevertheless, held in the highest credit and estimation by the modern Welsh, as the forgeries of Hector Bois, adopted by Buchanan and even introduced by Lewis, as affording suitable companions for his ante-Brutician kings, are by the Scots.

To return, however, to “ the long-lost Arthur ; ” who, after being so highly extolled by the right-reverend father in god, Geoffrey, lord bishop of Saint-Asaph and his herd of plagiarists and parasites, as the greatest, richest, most powerful, valiant, glorious and successful monarch, that

ever reigned in the world, has, not only had his sovereignty, valour, glory and good fortune, but, even, his very existence, positively and absolutely denied, by an author of the eighteenth century, of scarcely less notoriety than that accomplished prelate of the twelfth ; whom, however he may imitate in one instance, he widely differs from in another ; his lordship being a “ Cumri ” and a “ Celt,” his emulator, a “ Goth ” or “ Pik,” a Pikish-Goth or Gothick-Pik. “ The reader,” according to this learned historian, “ need hardly be told, that Arthur was, merely, a name given, by the *Welch*, [Welsh] to *Aurelius Ambrosius* their Roman defender against the Saxons” (*Enquiry*, I, 76) : he refers, in support of this modest and veracious assertion, to Gildas, C. 25 and Bede, I, 16 ; meaning, no doubt, Geoffrey of Monmouth, B. 8, C. 2 ; with the same facility and integrity, as he is, on other occasions, accustomed to cite John Fordun under the name of William of Malmesbury (see *Enquiry*, II. 203, *Wil. Malms.*) in whom no such thing is to be found : but consult, Fordun, B. 4, C. 44 ; again II, 220 : “ But William of Malmesbury [John Fordun] says, that *Malcom* [Malcolm] only permitted Duncan, his grandson and heir, who was possessed of Cumberland, to pay homage for that province : this plain account sufficiently

refutes the usurpative style of the Saxon chronicle" and the words of Wynne, the sophisticator of Carádóc, for those of that author (*Enquiry* I, 96). Neither Gildas, in fact, nor Bede, though both mention (not, indeed, *Aurelius Ambrosius*, a corruption of Geoffrey of Monmouth) *Ambrosius Aurelianus*, (followed by Girald Barry) says any such thing, never once naming or any way alluding to Arthur. Even Geoffrey himself makes them distinct personages, and, that they actually were so, will, sufficiently, appear by the direct and positive testimony of *Nennius*, William of Malmesbury, Henry of Huntingdon and Carádóc of Llancarvan; all ancient and respectable historians. As for the first, he died long before the rest were born; although not one of the latter ever had or saw a copy of Geoffrey's history, as he himself boasts, except Henry of Huntingdon, who did not meet with it, till after he had published, at least, the first seven books of his own. He, nevertheless, reasserts, "That Arthur was Aurelius Ambrosius is certain, but the Arthur of Welch history is a non-existence" (*Enquiry*, I, 76): an assertion just as true as that Alexander the great was *Julius Cesar*, or Merlin the prophet, John Pinkerton.

THE
LIFE
OF
KING ARTHUR.



THE
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CHAP. I.

Of the Britons.

THE most ancient author, from whom we have any account of the Britons is, unquestionably, *Julius Cesar*, who, in the year of Rome 698, being the 55th before the vulgar æra, invaded Britain, for the first time, and, in the following year, repeated the attempt ; having, on both occasions, had many severe, though, in some measure, successful, engagements with the natives ; but, assuredly, not succeeding in his project to subjugate the island to the Roman dominion : since, as the historical poet, *Lucan*, makes *Pompey* observe :

“ *Territa quaesitis ostendit terga Britannis?*”*

The energy, in fact, and vigour of their attacks or repulses, their military manœuvres and pecu-

* *L.* 2, v. 572.

liar methods of war, many of which are described by Cesar, sufficiently prove them to have been, at this period, a brave, resolute and warlike nation. "The Britons themselves," according to *Tacitus*, "diligently performed the levy and tributes and the enjoined taxes of the empire, if injuries were absent : these they bore grievously, now subdued, that they should obey, not yet, that they should be slaves. Therefore, when the deified *Julius*, first of all the Romans, having entered Britain with an army, although he affrighted the inhabitants by a prosperous battle and may have obtained the coast, may be thought to have shewn it to posterity, not delivered it."*

"The interior part of Britain," says *Cesar*, "was inhabited by those, whom born in the island itself they said to be deduced from memory ; the maritime part by those, who, for the sake of carrying on plunder and war, had passed over from the Belgs. . . . Of all these, by far the most humane, were those who inhabited Kent : which country was all maritime nor differed much from the Gallic custom,"† "As to the rest," according to *Tacitus*, "those mortals who, in the beginning, cultivated Britain, whether natives or strangers, as among barba-

* *Life of Julius Agricola*, 13.

† *Of the Gallic war*, B. 5.

rians, being little known. The habits of their bodies [were] various, and from these arguments: for the red hair of those inhabiting *Caledonia* [and their] large limbs asserted a Germanick origin.* The swarthy countenances of the *Silures* and their hair for the most part curled and Spain placed opposite to them, made faith that the ancient Iberians had passed over and occupied these seats: the next to the Gauls are, also, like them: whether by the virtue of their origin enduring or whether by lands running in adverse [Britain], the state of the climate have given the habit to their bodies: nevertheless, to one estimating into the whole, it was credible that the Gauls occupied the neighbouring soil. You would discover their sacred rites by the persuasion of their superstitions: their speech being not much different, the same audacity in dangers called for and, when they came, the same terror in refusing them.† They appear,

* These circumstances, however, in historians much more ancient than *Tacitus*, are, expressly, asserted to be the characteristics of the Gauls.

† *Life of Agricola*, P. 11. The difficulty of ascertaining the origin of an ancient nation is, universally, acknowledged: the Romans, even, were ignorant of their own. It is, however, peculiarly, difficult to investigate whence the Britons, originally, came: was it from Gaul, where, there was a nation of Britons, placed upon the river *Samara*, now the *Somme*, in the province

in Cæsar's time, as was the case, indeed, down to a very late period, to have been governed by

of Picardy, running between Abbeville and Saint-Vallery, up to Amiens. There is, certainly, a strong analogy between *Gallia* and *Wallia*, *Gauls* and *Walls*. This subject will afford discussion at some future period. How came they by the name of *Britons*, in such ancient times? What is its etymology? A curious and important object of disquisition. Why had the Britons, in the sixth century called their country *Wallia*, as it appears in the *awdyl vraith* of Taliesin (*Myvyrian archæology of Wales*, I, 95)? They seem to have adopted, from the Romans, the fabulous idea of having come from Troy. In the *Hanes Taliesin*, Taliesin's history (*Ibi*, 19, 20) is the following stanza :

“ *Mi a fum yn Affrica*

Cyn adeilad Roma

Mi a ddoethym yma

At wedillion Troia.”

(I have been in Africa

Before Rome was built,

I have come here

To the remnants of Troy.)

In another poem of Taliesin, already mentioned, *Awdyl vraith*, a principal class of metres (*Ibi*, 92, 94) is the subsequent stanza :

“ *Och dduw, mor druan*

Y daw 'r ddarogan

Drwy ddirvawr gwynvan

I lin Troea.”

(O god ! how wretched I'm become

The prophecy concerns me much,

Through lamentation infinite,

The line of Troy.)

several petty kings or chieftains ; to one of whom, Cassivelaun, "whose borders," he says, "from the maritime cities a river divided, which

These extracts are translated as literally as possible. It seems, therefore, that the bard had imagined his countrymen, as the Romans pretended, to be Trojans and to have come, with Brute, into Britain, after the destruction of Troy ; possibly, he received his information from Virgil's *Aeneis*, with which, at least, Gildas was familiar, as he cites, in his 14th chapter, part of these two lines :

*"Non sic, aggeribus ruptis cùm spumeus amnis
Exiit, oppositasque evicit gurgite moles."*

(L. 2, v. 496, 7.)

Their descendants, the present Welsh, call themselves *Cymry* or *Gymry*, in Latin, *Cumbri* or *Cambri* ; a name, however, used neither by Gildas, Bede nor *Nennius* nor, in short, by any historian, before Geoffrey of Monmouth (except by Fabian Ethelwerd (P. 844), who, manifestly, means the inhabitants of Cumberland, which name, likewise, occurs in the Saxon chronicle (*Lumbna-land*, p. 115) and, apparently, meaning bastards. (See *Glos. LL. Wal. voce CYMMERJAD.*) William Owen, in his Welsh dictionary, explains "*Cymro*, s. m.—pl. *cymry* (cy-bro) A Welshman. *Cymry*," he says, "is the universal appellation by which the Welsh call themselves ; . . . and the name," he asserts, "is, undoubtedly, the origin of the *Cimbri* and *Cimmerii*, in ancient authors : " The *Cimbri* and *Cimmerii* however, were, notoriously, two as different people as it is possible for two people to be : the former, who were *Germans*, were never heard of before the 70th year before Christ ; whereas, the *Cimmerii* (who are mentioned by Homer, 907, and by *Herodotus*, 469, years before him) made war on Alyattes the second, king of Lydia, who began to

was called the Thames, about eighty miles from the sea. To him, in former times, with the remaining cities, the continental wars had passed between : but, the Britons, being thoroughly moved by our arrival, the whole had set him over the war and the government." He, likewise mentions *Mandrubatus*, a chief of the *Trinobantes*, now Londoners, who had fled to him, for protection, in Gaul, that he might avoid the fate of his father, *Imanuentius* whom Cassivelaun had put to death. In Kent, alone, it seems no less than four kings presided, *Cingetorix*, *Carnilius*, *Taxigulus*, and *Segonax*. Another of these petty princes is noticed by *Florus*: "Cæsar," he says, "in his second expedition, pursuing the Britons, in the Caledonian woods, put, likewise, one of the kings of the *Cavelani* in chains."† Cassive-

reign in the 619th year before Christ and reigned 57 years. The Saxons called them, *Walar*, *Wealar*, *Weallar*, (*Wawls*) *Wealh*, *Wælycman*, *Wælye*, *Wilyc*, *Wýlyc* (*Welsh*) *Wealhar*, foreigners, strangers or barbarians, for what reason cannot be ascertained ; and those of South-Wales, *Wallepente* (*Saxon chronicle* and *Lye's dictionary*.) The *Cumry*, *Taffy* says, are *Cimpri*, *Cimerii*, or *Gomerii*, from *Gomer* of the old testament, as *hur is creat etymolochist ant font of an old peticree*.

† Those people, though precisely so named, are supposed to have been the natives of Lincolnshire, Buckinghamshire, and some adjoining counties.

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laun, in fine, on the loss of a great battle, sent ambassadors to sue for peace, which application, Cæsar, stipulating a tribute and receiving hostages, appears to have complied with. He returned to Gaul and never after revisited Britain nor (excepting that “*Caligula*, being in Germany, did no more than receive the submission of *Adminius*, the son of Kinobelin, a British prince, who, being forced from his father, came over to him, with a small body of troops ; yet, as if the whole island had been surrendered to him, he sent bouncing letters to Rome upon it’’) * was any further attempt made till the reign of *Claudius*.

* *Suetonius*, *Caligula*, c. 44.

CHAP. II.

Of Carádóc, a British king.

WHEN (in the year of the vulgar æra 51) *Ostorius*, the proprætor, fought a battle against the Britons, in which the latter were defeated. "This victory," according to *Tacitus*, "was famous, and the wife and daughter of Carádóc (*Caractacus*), [prince of the *Silures*, inhabitants of present South-Wales, "whom," the author says, "many perilous and many prosperous things, had exalted so high, that he far excelled the other generals of the Britons,"] his brethren, also, being received into surrender. He himself (as, for the most part, unsafe things are adverse) when he had entreated the faith of *Cartismandua*, queen of the *Brigantes*, was chained and delivered to the victors, after the ninth year, when the war in Britain [was] begun: whence his fame carried into the islands and, spread about the nearest, was, likewise, celebrated through Italy, and they desired to see him, who had, so many years, disdained our riches. So that not, at Rome, truly, the name

of Carádoc was ignoble; and Cæsar, whilst his grace extolled [him], added glory to the conquered. The people, moreover, being called, as to a famous spectacle. The prætorian cohorts stood in arms, in the field, which lay before the camp. Then the royal clients walking in state, trappings and torques and what things he had got in external wars, being brought over: by and by, his brethren and his wife and his daughter: lastly he himself being presented. The supplications of the rest were degenerate, out of fear: but not Carádoc, either with a dejected look or asking mercy with words. When he stood up to the tribunal, he spoke in this manner: “If how much nobility and fortune was mine, so much moderation had been of prosperous things, I had come into this city a friend rather than a captive nor disdained, to be born of famous ancestors, governing many nations, to receive a treaty of peace. My present lot, as much as it is dishonourable to me, so is it magnificent to thee: I have had horses, men, arms, riches; what wonder; if I have lost these against my will? Whether, if you [Romans] will govern all, does it follow, that all should receive slavery? If, incontinently, being given up, I should be delivered; neither my fortune nor thy glory, would grow famous and the pu-

nishment of me will be followed by oblivion : but, if thou shouldst preserve me safe, I shall be an everlasting example of thy clemency." At these [words] Cæsar granted pardon both to himself and his wife and his brethren."*

* *Annals*, B. xii, 36. It is, by no means probable that Carádoc actually delivered this speech, though he might have said, through an interpreter, something becoming his situation. This is only what Tacitus conceives he should or might have said. The practice seems to have been introduced by Livy, and ended, perchance, in Geoffrey of Monmouth.

CHAP. III.

Of Venusius, Paulinus Suetonius, Prasutagus,
and Boudicea.

AFTER Carádoc was taken, *Venusius*, chief in the science of warfare, and in the city of the *Iugantes*, and being long faithful, was defended by the Roman arms, when he held queen *Cartismandua* in matrimony, discord having, by and by, risen and, straightway, also, against the Romans, he had taken [up] hostilities: but, at first, it was, only, contested among themselves, and *Cartismandua*, by wily arts, cut off the brother and near of kin of *Venusius*.*

When *Paullinus Suetonius* obtained the Britons, he made ready to fall upon the isle of *Mona*,† strong in inhabitants and a receptacle of refugees, and built ships, with a plain bottom, against a narrow and uncertain shore. So the foot-soldiers, following the horsemen in the ford or higher, among the waters, swimming after the horses,

* *Taciti Annales*. L. 12, § 40.

† *Mon*, in British, now *Anglesey*, or the *Engles-isle*, so named by the Saxons.

passed over. On the opposite shore stood the army in battalia, close with arms and men, the women, running, to and fro, in the manner of furies, their vests being funereal, their hair disheveled, bore torches and the druids, round about, their hands being lifted up, pouring-out direful prayers, astonished the soldiers with the novelty of the sight, that, as if, with members sticking together, they would offer an immovable body to wounds. Afterward, at the exhortations of the general and they themselves stimulating each other, lest they should fear a female and fanatic crew, they brought up the ensigns and threw down those opposing and involved them in their own fire. Afterward, a guard being set over the vanquished and the groves, sacred to their cruel superstitions, being cut down: for they held it lawful to worship [upon] the altars with captive blood and consult their gods with the entrails of men. *Suetonius* acting these things a sudden revolt of the province was announced.*

Prasutagus, king of the Icenians, famous by long opulence, had inscribed Cæsar and his two daughters his heir, thinking, by such obsequiousness, his kingdom, and, likewise, his household,

* *Taciti Annales*, I. 14, § 29.

to be far from injury; which turned out the contrary: insomuch that, the kingdom by centurions, the houses by slaves, were wasted, like as those taken by force. Now, for the first time, his wife, *Boudicea*,* was 'afflicted' with scourges and his daughters were violated and whosoever were the principal of the Icenians, as if they had received the whole region for a gift, they were stripped of their ancient possessions and their relations were held among the slaves of the king.

Already (in the 62d year of the vulgar æra) [to] Suetonius, the fourteenth legion, with their standard-bearers and the soldiers of the twentieth legion and the auxiliaries out of the nearest, were, almost, sent ten thousand armed men: but the forces of the Britons, everywhere, by battalions and troops, rejoiced, exceedingly, how great a multitude, nowhere else and with a mind so savage, that their wives, likewise, they drew with them, as witnesses of their victory, and put them in waggons, which they had set upon the outermost place of the field. *Boudicea*, carrying her daughters, before her, in a chariot, as she approached to every nation, testified, "It to be usual, indeed, for the Britons to wage war: but

* Otherwise, *Boodicia* (Tacitus, elsewhere); *Voadica* (Vitâ Agricolaë); *Βυνδυα*, (*Bunduica*), Dion.

then not, as being sprung from such great ancestors, having lost a kingdom and riches; but, only, as one out of the common people, having lost her liberty, to revenge her body, wasted by stripes, the chastity of her daughters violated: that the lusts of the Romans had proceeded so far, that not bodies nor, even, old-age or virginity unpolluted, they should leave. Nevertheless, that the gods of just vengeance were present: that a legion had fallen, which had dared the battle:* that the rest were hidden in their camps or were looking about flight. Not so much as the noise and clamour of so many thousands, much less their assaults and hands would they endure. If they would consider with themselves the forces of armed men, if the causes of war, it behoved to conquer or fall, in that battle. That is destined to a woman: let the men live and be slaves!" *Suetonius*, truly, did not keep silence in so great a danger: who, although he confided in valour, he, nevertheless, mingled exhortations and prayers. . . Such ardour followed the words of the general, and so much did the soldier, old and with much experience of battles, bestir himself, to the flinging of piles, that the

* At "The Colony," as the Romans called it, otherwise *Camolodunum*, now Colchester: it resembled Chelsea-hospital, in so far, as it was the residence of the invalids of the legions.

event was certain, should *Suetonius* give the sign of battle and, in the first place, the legion, with steadfast pace and retaining the straits of the place for a defence, broken forth as a wedge, after the enemy creeping along nearer had exhausted his darts with a certain throw. The same attacks of the auxiliaries and the horsemen, spears being outstretched, broke through the line, which was opposed and strong. The rest offered their backs, in difficult flight, because, their waggons laid about, barred the passages and the soldiers did not restrain, truly, the slaughter of the women, and the cattle, pierced with darts, had increased the heap of bodies. Illustrious praise and equal to ancient victories was obtained in that day: forasmuch as, there were those who reported, little less than 80,000 of Britons to have been slain; almost, 400 of soldiers being killed, nor much more wounded. *Boudicea* ended her life by poison.*

* *Taciti Annales*, L. 14, § 25. Dio, however, gives a different account of this British virago: "For the most part, *Boudica*, a British woman, sprung from a royal race, persuaded those [Britons] that they should, openly, carry on a war with the Romans; she who, not only, presided over them with great dignity, but, likewise, conducted every war; nourishing greater spirits than became a woman: for the army being assembled, to 1,20,000 of men, she mounted upon a tribunal, made of moorish turves, in the Roman manner: a woman with

a very large body, a fierce look, a very sour face, a rough voice, who let her very thick hair and the same very yellow,* reach down to her buttocks. She carried, also, a large gold torques and wore a robe covered over with different colours and bound hard to her bosom, to which she had overcast a thick cloak, connected with the help of a brooch: which habit she, not only, at that time and at others, always, used, but with a spear, likewise, taken into her hands, with which she amazed all present, she spoke after this manner: "Truly," &c. [The speech is too long to recite, and may not be genuine.] When she had said these words, she sent a hare out of her bosom, in order to an omen being taken: which, afterward, ran luckily; the whole multitude, with joyful minds, shouted together. Then *Bunduica*, with her hand raised to heaven, I thank thee, said, Adraste and a woman myself, invoke thee a woman not reigning over Egyptian porters, as *Nitocris*† not over Assyrian merchants, as *Semiramis* (for these we have received, already from the Romans) nor, again, over the Romans themselves, as, a little before, *Messalina*, afterward, *Agrippina*, now Nero, who, being called by the name of a man, is in fact, a woman: that which I have been able to understand of him, that he sings with voice and harp and that he is dressed like women: but am set over men, Britons, who have learned, not to till fields nor to be mechanics, but to wage wars, in the best manner: who, as all other things, so they esteem their children and wives to be common among themselves and, therefore, also, reigning over these women, who exercise the same valour with their husbands. When, therefore, I may obtain a kingdom among such kind of men and women, I pour out my prayers to

* Hentzner says of our Queen Elizabeth, who seems, in more instances than one, to have resembled the British *Bunduica*, "she wore false hair and that red."

† A celebrated queen of Babylon, mentioned by Herodotus.

thee and intreat from thee victory, bealth, liberty, against injurious, dishonest, insatiable and wicked men : if such beings are to be called men, who are washed in hot water, eating meats, sumptuously prepared, drinking pure wine, besmeared with ointments, lying softly, coupling with boys and those past their date, and serving a harper, indeed, a bad one. Not to me, I beseech, not to you, for the remaining time, let this *Neronia* or *Domitia* to govern; singing, she should rule the Roman people : for he is worthy who would serve a woman of this kind, whose tyranny so long a space of time, already, he should sustain. Thou, truly, lady, I entreat alone, wouldst rule over us. (*Cassii Dionis Historia Romana*, Ham. 1752, folio II, 1003.)

Bunduica, having destroyed two cities of the Romans, appointed toward the captives a most execrable punishment, "it truly was very cruel and very barbarous, because they suspended the most noble and most honourable women naked and sewed their paps cut off to their own mouths, that they might seem to eat them and, afterward, transfixed those very women, with very sharp stakes, through the whole body, according to its length, and did all these things, performing, at once, the ceremonies of their religion and feasting and bearing themselves, lasciviously, as well in their other temples as, especially, in the grove of Andaté : for so they called Victory and worshipped her, most earnestly." (*Ibi*, 1008.) *Bunduica* was extinguished by disease and many, grievously, bewailed her and buried her, magnificently. (*Ibi*, 1011.)

CHAP. IV.

Of Agricola and Calgac.

IN the 78th year of the vulgar æra *Iulius Agricola* arrived in Britain : in 80, he penetrated to the firth of Forth : in 82, having passed over [the firth] in the first ship, he vanquished nations, unknown at that time, in frequent, at once and prosperous battles : in 84, he came to the Grampian-mount,* which now the enemies had sitten upon : for the Britons, nothing broken by the event of the former fight, and expecting revenge or slavery. Forthwith, more than thirty thousand of armed men were beheld and, hitherto, flowed in all the youth and with whom the raw and green age, famous in war and every one bearing his honours : when, among many generals, one excelling in valour and race, by name Calgac, who, to the multitude, demanding battle, delivered a speech. They received the oration cheerful and with a song of barbarous manner and shouting and

* A hill in Buchan, now called *Mormound*.

dissonant clamours. *Agricola* having spoken ; immediately, a running to arms. The dreadful battle commenced, which is unnecessary to describe here ; suffice it to say, the Britons were defeated, with the slaughter of ten thousand ; of the Romans no more than three hundred and forty fell. The Britons, wandering and with the mixed wailing of men and women, to draw the wounded, to call the entire, to desert their houses and through anger, of their own accord, to set them on fire : to choose lurking places and, straightway leave them, and it appeared, sufficiently, some to have been cruel toward their wives and children, as much as they compassionated them. The next day opened the face of victory more widely : everywhere a vast silence, secret hills, houses smoking afar off, no one meeting the spies : by whom, into every part dismissed, where uncertain vestiges of flight nor any where found the enemies to be gathered round.* Thus *Tacitus*.

* Rolt, the historian, observes, that (in 1746) “ the Duke of Cumberland issued a proclamation for disarming such of the clans as refused to surrender themselves ; a camp was established at Fort-Augustus, whence several detachments were sent to ruin and depopulate the rebellious country ; where the devastation was so great, that, for the space of fifty miles, neither house, man, nor beast was to be seen ; which was

For some centuries after this, the history of Britain is very obscure. It was, in fact, a Roman province and, generally, speaking, perfectly tame and submissive.* If, however, we may believe two, comparatively, late historians, Dio, that is, and Herodian, the Britons were not essentially improved, in their dress or manners, by their intercourse with the accomplished masters of the world, who had strong garrisons in every part of the island: some of the generals, occasionally, usurping the purple.

the entire subjugation of this fierce and intractable people, whom neither the Romans nor Saxons could reduce, and who had often bid defiance to their native kings." *Conduct of the Powers of Europe*, IV, 212.) [Every man of taste remembers and admires (and it was originally the author's intention to insert) the beautiful and pathetic lines of Dr. Smollett on this disgraceful proceeding, beginning,

"Mourn, hapless Caledonia, mourn." Ed.]

* Jove fix'd it certain, that whatever day
 Makes man a slave, takes half his worth away.
Pope's Homer.

CHAP. V.

Of the Britons, Picts, and Scots.

ABOUT the year of the vulgar æra, 360, the Britons began to be harassed by two barbarous nations, from the north and west, which, like devouring locusts, swarmed over the island and extended their depredations from beyond the Scottish sea or firth of Forth, up even to the gates of London. These savages were denominated (whether by themselves or their enemies is uncertain) Picts and Scots; they, formerly, had established themselves, for some indefinite time, in the north of Caledon or modern Scotland; the Scots in Ireland, whence they came over in swarms, to associate with their allies, in the plunder and devastation of the now enervated Britons; but whence they had come, originally, is a fact which it has not been possible to ascertain. The Romans, after building for the Britons or teaching themselves to build, walls for their protection: a precaution, by the way, they never either observed themselves or recom-

mended to their subjected provinces, on any other occasion: well knowing that it is the heads, the hearts, the hands, of men, which are to defend them from their enemies, and not ditches or mounds.* This, however, being as it may, the Romans, in or about the year 404,† either not esteeming the island capable or worthy, of defence or, possibly, judging their presence and forces of greater importance to the state, in Gaul or Italy, withdrew, not, only, with their own legions, but with all the flower of the British youth, never ‘after’ to return; and now the northern wolves, regarding neither walls nor ditches, leaped over the borders, in numberless herds, ravaging and devouring all before them. The wretched and enervate Britons, in the year 446, not able nor, even, willing, to help themselves, had recourse to their old masters;

* “The strength of a city,” said *Agesilaus*, king of Sparta, “does not consist in its walls, but in the courage of the inhabitants.” The poet *Alcæus* was of the same mind: “Not stones nor timber,” he says, “nor the art of builders are cities: but, wherever there are MEN, themselves how to preserve knowing, there are walls and cities.” (*Spartan manual*, P. 72.)

[† The precise time, when the Roman legions finally abandoned Britain, cannot be ascertained, as the chronology of the age is scanty and confused: according, however, to Bede, (*L.* 1. c. 11. 12. 13.) that important event appears to have taken place a few years later. *Ed.*]

addressing them, as Gildas assures us, in a querulous and whining tone, to the following effect :
“ To *Aetius*, thrice consul, The groans of the Britons (and, after a few words complaining,) The barbarians drive us back to the sea ; the sea drives us back to the barbarians ; between these arise two kinds of deaths, we are either killed or drowned.”* They received, however, no assistance, and were left entirely to the mercy and discretion of their ferocious enemies.

* C. 17. This epistle is interpolated in Polydore Virgil's edition, with a passage written by himself.

CHAP. VI.

Of Vortigern, king of Britain and the invitation, arrival and success of the Saxons.

IN the year of the vulgar æra 428 and long before, king Vortigern sat on the throne of Britain or governed, at least, the southern, eastern and western parts of that kingdom or might, possibly, as had, formerly, been the case with the Britons and appears, even, to have been so at this period, as it, likewise, was, both then and long after with the Scots (as the Irish were then named), only, to have the predominant power or military command over his fellow-potentates. This monarch, [of whose] descent or title to the crown very little is delivered by writers of reputation for their age and authenticity,* being,

* Samuel, the scholiast or interpolator of *Nennius*, as corrected by Bertram, gives this computation : From Rufus and Rubellius unto Stilicho consul, there are 371 years, and from Stilicho unto Valentinian, son of *Placidia* [*Flavius Placidius Valentinianus Casar*, consul with *Flavius Theodosius Augustus*, 425] and the kingdom of Vortigern, 25 : and from the reign of Vortigern unto the discord of Guitolin and Ambrose, which is

completely harassed and overpowered by his barbarous and active enemies, determined, with the advice of his council, to call in the assistance of the Saxon pirates, who had now, at least, for a couple of centuries, infested, occasionally, the narrow seas and the coasts of Britain; insomuch, that long before the Romans abandoned the island, they had a great officer, whose duty it was to protect both, under the title of *comes littoris Saxonici per Britanniam* (the count of the Saxon shore through Britain). The Britons, therefore, in 449, sent over ambassadors, who, in a stile even more pitiful than that they had, already, used toward the Romans, addressed the Saxons to this effect: "Most good Saxons, the wretched Britons, wearied with the frequent attacks of enemies and very much worn down, having heard the victories by you, magnificently,

Gualop, that is, *Catguoloph* [the battle of Guoloph] Vortigern held the empire in Britain, *Theodosius* and *Valentinianus* (430) and, in the 24th year of his reign, the Saxons came into Britain, *Flavius Protogenes* and *Flavius Asturius* or *Turcius* the second *Asturius*, being consuls, 449 and, from the year, in which the Saxons came into Britain and were taken up by Vortigern, unto *Flavius Anicius Justinianus Augustus* and *Flavius Theodorus Paulinus*, the last consul of the west, 85, [534]. See Bertram's edition, p. 96, and the *Fasti consulares*.

achieved, have sent us to you, supplicating that you would not withhold from them your assistance. The land, broad and spacious and filled with a plenty of all things, they offer to yield to your dominion. Under the protection of the Romans, we have, hitherto, freely lived ; after the Romans, we are ignorant of better than you : therefore, we seek to fly under the wings of your valour : with your valour, with your arms, only, can we become superior to the enemy's and, whatever kind of service you impose upon us, we shall, willingly, sustain."* Complying with this request, as, they said, the staunch to the Britons and, always, alike ready in their necessity and advantage (having, no doubt, in their piratical expeditions, surveyed the advantages of the country with the eyes of a hawk), they came over, according to saint Gildas, " the Jeremiah of Britain," in three keels or long ships, and, after having performed their contract, by driving the old enemies out of the kingdom and received the solid reward of provinces and shires and counties, in the best and richest part of the island, they, forthwith, entered into an alliance with those identical enemies, whom

* Wittichind, B. 1, c. 2. This writer, everywhere calls the Britons *Bracti*.

they had so recently defeated, and turned their arms against their employers, whom, at length, they drove out of the country or confined to the mountainous and barren districts of Wales, Cornwall and, for some time, the adjoining shires.

CHAP. VII.

Of the arrival of Hengist, and Vortigern's marriage with Romwen his daughter.

HENGIST, a Saxon prince, forasmuch as he was a man learned and subtle and skilful, when he had looked upon the inactive king and upon his people, because they were without arms, a council being held, said to the British king, We are few, if thou wilt that we send to our country, that we may invite soldiers of the soldiers of our country and the number may be the more ample to fight both for thee and for thy nation; and the king this same [thing] allowed: who, incontinently, sent and the messengers passed over the Thetick valley,* who returned with seventecn keels and the soldiers chosen came in them and, in one keel, came a beautiful and very graceful damsel: she was the daughter of Hengist. After the keels had come, Hengist made a feast to king Vortigern and to his soldiers and

* That is, the German ocean, or part of what is now called the North-sea; from Thetys, the goddess of the waves, the pretended mother of Achilles. See Claudian *passim*.

to his interpreter, who was called *Cerdicselmot*.* Hengist, therefore, ordered the damsel to minister wine and ale to them, who were very much intoxicated and glutted.† Those drinking, Satan entered into the heart of Vortigern, that he loved her very much, and he requested her from her father by his interpreter and said every thing that, for her, thou canst request from me, thou shalt obtain, although the half of my kingdom, and Hengist, a council being held with his elders, who

* This is Samuel's passage in the margin of some of the manuscripts, and appears, in the text of Bertram's edition, in a different character and between crotchets : " No Briton of the Britons knowing the Saxon tongue except this Briton : let him study, who reads, by what event it happened for this very man to understand the Saxon speech." *Cerdic* is, certainly, a Saxon name and the note is, singularly, shrewd for a Welshman.

† That " this lady's name was *Rowena*, who came out of her chamber, bearing a golden bowl, full of wine : approaching, then more near to the king, with bended knees, said, *Loverd King, wacht heil* [r. *þlaforð cing. pæs hæl*, Lord king, be of health] ! But he, her face being seen, admired her grace very much and grew hot : then interrogated his interpreter, what the damsel said and what he ought to answer : to whom the interpreter said, she called thee lord king and honoured [thee] by the word of salutation : what, however, thou oughtest to answer, is *Drinc heil* [*Drinc hæl ! Drink health*] ! Vortigern, then, answering *Drinc hæl*, ordered her to drink and took the bowl from her own hand and kissed her and drank," seems to be the invention of Geoffrey of Monmouth (B. 6, c. 12.)

had come with him from the island of Anglen,* asked from them what they should demand [of the king,] for the damsel, one counsel was to them all, that they should demand the region which in their tongue is called *Canthguaraland*, but in our tongue *Chent* (Kent) and he gave it to them, king Guorangon reigning in Kent and being ignorant that the kingdom of himself was delivered to the pagans and he himself alone into their power: too much sorrow disturbed him because his kingdom, secretly, treacherously and imprudently, was given to the foreigners and so was the damsel given to him into marriage and he slept with her and loved her very much.†

* “*Anglia vetus sita est inter Saxones et Giotos, habens oppidum capitale, quod sermone Saxonico Sleswic nuncupatur, secundum verò Danos Haithaby.*” (*Ethelwerdus, L. 1*: that is, Old England is situate between the Saxons and the Jutes, having a chief town, which, in the Saxon language is called *Sleswick*, but, according to the Danes, *Haithaby*.)

† *Nennius, C. 36.*

CHAP. VIII.

Of Hengist's advice to king Vortigern.

HENGIST said to the king, I am thy father and will be to thee a counsellor, and, ever be unwilling to neglect my counsel, because thou shalt not fear thyself to be overcome by one man nor by one nation; that, my nation, is mighty. I shall invite, therefore, my son with his brother's son: those men are warriors, that may fight against the Scots and give thou, to them, the regions which are in the north, hard by the wall, which is called *Gual*,* and he ordered that he should invite them: whom he invited, also, *Ochta* and *Abisa* with forty keels. But they themselves, when they navigated about the Picts, wasted the Orkney islands† and came and oc-

* Thus, in C. 19.—“*murum et aggerem à mari usque ad mare, per latitudinem Britanniae . . , et vocatur Britannico sermone Gual.*”

† *Orchades insulas*. The *mare Fresicum* as here or *Frisicum litus*, as Joceline hath it, in the life of saint Kentigern, is not, as Camden says, the firth [of Forth], but the *mare internum*, of Richard, or Irish sea.

cupied many regions and islands* beyond the Fresick sea, that is, that which is between us and the Scots, as far as to the confines of the Picts; and Hengist, always invited the keels to himself, by little and little, so that they left the islands from which they came without inhabitant; and when his people had increased both in valour and in multitude, they came to the above-said Cantuarian region.†

In the year 455, Hengist and Horse fought with Vortigern, the king, in the place which was called *Æglesford* (now Ailsford, in Kent, at the bank of the river Medway) and his brother Horse was slain and, afterward, Hengist and his son, *Æsc*, enjoyed the kingdom.‡

In the year 457, Hengist and *Æsc* fought with the Britons, in the place which was called *Crecanford* (now Crayford, in Kent) § and there slew four men (generals) and the Britons, afterward, departed from Kent and, with great fear, fled to London.||

In the year 465 Hengist and *Æsc* fought with

* Probably meaning the *Hebudes* or *Æbudæ* corruptly *Hébrides*, and, at present, the Western isles.

† C. 37.

‡ Of Kent, that is, *Chro. Saxo.* p. 13.

§ “*Crecanford, quod est Crickelade.*” Leland’s *Collectanea*. I. 218.

|| *Chro. Saxo. ibi.*

the Welsh, nigh *Wyppedes-fleet* (now Wipped-fleet in Kent) and there slew twelve aldermen, all Welsh ; one, also, of their own, a very noble man, whose name was Wipped, was there slain.*

In the year 473, Hengist and Æsc fought with the Welsh, and took numberless spoils, and the Welsh fled from the Engles, as if there had been a fire.†

* *Chro. Saxo. ibi.*

† *Ibi.* He died 40 years after his arrival, in 489. See Henry of Huntingdon, p. 312. Æsc, his son, reigned 34 years and, as he succeeded his father, must have died in 523. (*Ibi* and *Chro. Sax.* p. 14.) Many more battles were fought by the Saxons against the Britons : in the year 577, Cuthwin and Ceawlin fought against the Britons and slew three kings, Commail and Condidan and Favinmail, in a place which is called Deorham and took three cities, Gloucester, Cirencester, and Bathancester (now Bath) : In 607, Æthelfrid [king of the Northumbrians, a pagan] led his army to Leicester, and there killed numberless Britons. There, also, were slain two hundred monks [of the abbey of Bangor, living by the labour of their hands] who came thither to pray for the army of the Britons. Brocmail was called their general, who with fifty, more or less, thence escaped : In 710, Ina and Nun, his kinsman, fought with Gerent, King of the Britons (*Saxon chronicle*).

CHAP. IX.

What counsel the Britons gave to king Vortigern
and the use he made of it.

AFTER these things, therefore, the king invited to himself all his great men, that he might ask from them, what he should do : but they said, Go thou into the most remote borders of thy kingdom, that thou mayest build a fortified tower, in which thou mayest defend thyself : because the people whom thou hast taken upon thee hate thee and, with treacherous fraud, will kill thee and the whole regions, which thou hast loved, will occupy, with thy whole people, after thy death. Afterward, truly, the king himself with his magicians, went forward, about to enquire after the tower and wandered over many regions and many provinces and, by no means, finding that which they sought, lastly, they came to that region which is called Guent, and he, going round about, in the mountains of *Heriri* (that is, *Craig-eriri*, the rock of the eagles) by the natives, *Snaudun*, (Snowdon) in English, at length obtained, in one of the mountains, a place,

in which it was convenient to build a tower and the magicians said to him, Make the tower in this place, because it will be most safe from the barbarous people for ever. He, therefore, gathered together artificers, that is, stone-cutters and they gathered together stones and wood: but, when every matter was gathered together, in one night it was entirely taken away and, for three times, he ordered it to be gathered together and it nowhere appeared.* Then he called to himself his magicians, and asked them, what was this cause of malice and why it should happen? But they answered to him, saying, [unless] he could find a child without a father, that thou mayest have one who should be slain and the tower sprinkled with his blood, never shall it be built for ever.† Such a boy, being found, says to the king (after a quantity of lies, which are, likewise, in Geoffrey of Monmouth's British history): Thou, therefore, go from this tower, because thou art not able to build it, and wander over many provinces, that thou mayest find a secure tower; I, indeed, will remain here; and the king said to the youth, By what name art thou called? He answered, I am called Ambrose‡ and the king said, Of what progeny

* Samuel, CC. 39, 40.

† Id. C. 40.

‡ This boy is not intended for Ambrose-Merlin, according to

art thou risen? but he replied: One of the consuls of the Roman nation is my father. Then he gave to him the tower with all the provinces of that country (West Britain) and, he himself, with his magicians, came to the left (that is, North) of Britain and fled, as far as the region which is called *Guennesi*,* and built the city which is called by his name *Cair-Guorthigirn* [*Guasmoric*, near *Lugubalia*] (Carlisle), he there built that city, which, in English is called *Palmchester*.†

the interpolator of the history of Nennius and, as it is in Geoffrey of Monmouth, but, certainly, *Ambrosius Aurelianus*, (a great general and, in process of time, king of Britain) as will appear by the sequel, and who has been here confounded, with Merlin.

* He withdrew into North Wales, in Latin, *Venedotia*, afterward *Gwent*, at present in Monmouthshire, upon the Severn-sea. *Gale*.

† Samuel, C. 43.

CHAP. X.

Of the second arrival of saint German, and how Vortigern, flying to his tower, followed by the saint, was, in the night, burned, with his domestics.

SAINT German, truly, preached to Vortigern that he would make himself an alien from the illicit mixture of his own daughter, and convert himself to the lord: but he, as far as to the region which, from his name had received its name, that is to say, *Guorthirnianum* (Vortigern's land), miserably, fled, that he might lie with his women. Saint German, therefore, pursued him, with all the clergy of the Britons, and there remained forty days and as many nights and prayed upon a stone and there stood, by day and by night and, in the mean time, Vortigern, as far as Vortigern's tower, which he had built and imposed upon his own name (that is, *Din-Girtigirn*, Vortigern's tower) and in the region of the *Dyveti* (the inhabitants of West Wales, now Pembrokeshire,) near the river *Teibi* (now the Teivy or Tywy), ignominiously, departed. Saint

German, however, followed him, in his usual manner, and there fasting, with all his clergy, for three days and as many nights, for good cause, remained ; in the fourth night, truly, the whole tower, about the hour of midnight, fell, on a sudden, by fire sent from heaven (that is, lightning) ; the celestial fire burning and Vortigern, with all his people who were with him and, with his own wives, ended his life,* [534.]

* Samuel, C. 48. He adds : This is the end of Vortigern, as I found it in the book of the blessed German, others, however, have said otherwise. " Forasmuch as all those of his family were hated for his crime, between potent and impotent, between slave and freeman, between monks and laics, between small and great, and he himself, while, wandering, he went from place to place, finally, broke his heart and died, without praise." (C. 49). Others, however, have said, the earth to be opened, which swallowed him up, in the night, in which his tower was burned about him, because any relics of those who were burned with him in the tower, were not found (C. 50).

CHAP. XI.

Of the three principal battles which Vortimer, the eldest son of king Vortigern, waged against the Saxons.

THE first battle was upon the river Derwent ; the second, upon the ford, which is called in the Saxons tongue *Episford*, but in that of the Britons *Sathenegabail*, and there fell Hors, with the son of Vortigern, whose name was Cantigern : the third battle, in the field near the stone of a monument, which was placed upon the bank of the Gallic sea, and the barbarians were defeated and they themselves returned in flight unto their keels, entering into them in a womanish manner. But he, after a little interval of time, was dead, and, before his death, he adverted to his family, that they would place his sepulchre in the port, from which the Saxons went out upon the bank of the sea : “ In which I commend to you, although, in another part, the port of Britain they hold and inhabit, yet in this land they shall not remain into eternity.” They, however, con-

temned his commandment and interred him in a place in which he had not reigned : for he was buried in Lincolnshire : but if they had observed his commandment, without doubt, by the prayers of saint German, they would have obtained whatsoever they had asked. But the barbarians, in great numbers, returned ; when Vortigern was their friend on account of his wife [whom he loved, to that pass, that no man dared to fight against them, because they, courteously, cajoled the imprudent king, nevertheless, acting a fraudulent purpose with a viper's heart*] and no man was able, courageously, to drive them out ; because not by their own valour they possessed Britain but by the divine will [and by reason of the very great sins of the Britons, god so permitting] : who can endeavour to resist against the will of god ; but as the lord wills, so he acts, and he himself governs and reigns.†

Vortigern had three sons : the first, Vortimer : the second, Cantegirn : the third, Pascent, The fourth, Faust, who was born to him of his daughter, whom saint German baptized, nourished and taught, and built a large place upon the bank of the river which is called *Renis*, and consecrated

* Samuel's interpolations, or marginal notes.

† *Nennius*, C. 45.

it to himself, AND REMAINS UNTIL THIS DAY,* and he had one daughter, who, as we have said, was the mother of saint *Faustus* the second

* That is, when *Nennius* wrote his history, (of which this chapter is a genuine, part,) which was in or about the year 858. There is nowhere to be found any precise date of *Vortigern's* death. The last certain event of his life is the death of his son, *Vortimer*, who died in 467, and whom he is supposed to have survived : but it seems probable that he was dead long before 500. *Moses Williams*, who, at the end of his edition of *Humphrey Llwyd's "Brittannicæ descriptionis commentariolum"* (London, 1731, 4to.) inserted certain "*Æræ cambrobritannicæ*," of no antiquity, in fact, or authority, admits the year 392 will not answer for that in which *Vortigern* died, though he conjectures (from these fallacious *æræ* of which *Geoffrey of Monmouth's* fabulous history is manifestly the ground-work) that he was born in that year.

CHAP. XII.

Of Nazaleod.

THE Britons, in fact, seem, about this period, to have been in no want of valorous and able commanders, for, beside Vortimer, Cantigern and Pascent, the three legitimate sons of king Vortigern, who were valiant leaders along with Ambrose Aurelian, we have an account, in the histories of Henry of Huntingdon, (archdeacon of that bishop from 1110 to 1155) corroborated by the authority of the Saxon chronicle and of Fabius Ethelwerd, of a great battle, between the Saxons and the Britons, in the year 508. I am about to write, says the former, the battle which Nazaleod (Natanleod or Nataleod), the chief king of the Britons, fought against Certic and Cinric, his son, in the sixtieth year of the arrival of the Engles. Nazaleod, verily, was a man of great name and great pride, from whom that region was called *Nazaleoli* (Natanleag, now Natley), which is now called *Certichesford*.*

* Now *Cherford*, as Carte thinks, between Corfe-castle and the sea, in the isle of Purbeck (*History of England*, 1, 199).

All the multitude of Britain, therefore, being gathered together, Certic and his son requested aid, in affairs of the highest consequence, from Esc, king of the Kentish and from Ella, the great king of the South-Saxons, and from Port and his sons,* who had lately arrived, and they appointed two wings for the battle, Certic governed the right and Cinric, his son, the left. The battle, therefore, being begun, king Nazaleod, seeing the right wing the more excellent, rushed upon it himself and all his forces, that this, which was the bravest, he might at first overthrow : the banners, therefore, being thrown to the ground and the battalion forced through, Certic betook himself to flight and a very great slaughter was made of his battalion at the moment. The left wing, however, led by the son, seeing that the right wing of his father would be destroyed, rushed on the backs of the pursuers and the battle was, vehemently, aggravated and there fell king Nazaleod and his army took to flight and there were slain of them five thousand ; to the rest, indeed, swiftness was protection. The Saxons, therefore enjoyed the prerogative of victory, and quiet was given to them for not

There is, also, another place called *Charford*, in Hampshire, which is not less likely to be the true one.

* This Port seems to have given his name to Portsmouth.

many years, and auxiliaries came to them, brave and numerous.*

• 312. That Nazaleod, as Carte and others have pretended, was *Ambrosius Aurelianus*, under another name, is the grossest absurdity possible. This author has, already, mentioned, *Ambrosius*, and would scarcely have introduced him by a different name, without explaining the reason. Beside, Nazaleod was slain in this battle [in] 508, and *Ambrosius* appears to have been living long afterward.

CHAP. XIII.

Of Ambrose Aurelian.

SOME of the miserable remains of the Britons, caught, unawares, in the mountains, were slain by heaps : others, exhausted by famine, coming in, surrendered themselves to perpetual slavery ; if, by that mean, they could escape immediate butchery, which was the highest favour granted : others sought transmarine countries, with great howling, as it were, for their sea-cheer, in this manner, under the folds of the sails,—singing : *Thou hast given us like sheep for eating, and scattered us among the gentiles* :* others, in mountainous hills, menacing, craggy, walled, and very thick woods and marine rocks, constantly, reckoning their life to be in the most imminent peril, although, fearful, continued in the country. The time, therefore, intervening a little, when the most cruel spoilers had retired home, the remains, strengthened by god (to whom the most miserable citizens fled for succour, on all

* Psalm xliv. 11.

sides, from divers places, as cagerly as bees from a storm approaching their hive), entreating him, all at once, with their whole heart and (as it is said) loading the skies with their numberless vows, lest they should be destroyed by universal slaughter, the leader being Ambrose-Aurelian, a modest man (who, peradventure, of the Roman nation, alone survived the collision of such a tempest, his relations, who wore the purple, being slain in the same, whose progeny, then, (in the author's time,) had greatly degenerated from the virtue of their ancestors), they took up strength, provoking the victors to battle, to whom, the lord assenting, the victory fell *

In the seventh year of the arrival of the Saxons in Britain [454], was fought a battle at *Æilless-treu*:† in the beginning, therefore, Hors smote the battalion of Cantigern, with such vigour, that, in the manner of dust, being dispersed, it was overthrown, and slew the king's son, lying prostrate. Vortimer, however, his son, a man, truly, very stout, from moving oblique, broke the battalion of Hors, and Hors himself, the bravest of men, being killed, the remains of the cohort fled to Hengist, who, when he had en-

* Gildas (Josselin's edition), C. 25.

† *Ægelsthorp*, *Ægelesford*, *Ailsford*, in Kent, at the bank of the river Medway. This battle has been mentioned already,

countered the wedge of Ambrose, invincibly, then, therefore, the weight of the battle was turned upon Hengist, and, being straitened by the bravery of Vortimer, when he had long persevered, not without great loss of the Britons, being overcome, he, who had never before fled, fled now : but, in the following year, Vortimer, the flower of youths, perished by disease, with whom, both at once, the hope and victory of the Britons were extinct.* Vortigern reigned in Britain, and, while he continued to reign, was molested from the fear of Ambrose.† From the reign of Vortigern unto the discord of Guitolin and Ambrose were twelve years, which was *Guoloppum*, that is, *Catguoloph*.‡ Vortigern had three sons : the third, Pascent, who reigned in two regions, that is, *Guelth* and *Vortigernianum*, after the death of his father, giving his suffrage to Ambrose, who had been a great king among all the regions of Britain.§ William of Malmes-

* Henry of Huntingdon, P. 310. According, however, to the Saxon Chronicle, the year, in which this battle was fought, was 455, the British general, king Vortigern, the place, *Egelesford* : unless they have been different engagements.

† *Nennius*, C. 28.

‡ *Idem* (Samuel *potius*), C. 1, p. 96, 97, of Bertram's edition.

§ *Idem*, C. 5, p. 131, 186, 198, of Bertram's edition. "Were not," asks Girald Barry, "the [Britons] brave in

bury, indeed, says, that " Ambrose, the sole survivor of the Romans, after Vortigern, was monarch of the realm,"*

war . . . in the reign of *Aurelius Ambrosius*? whom, even," he adds, "*Eutropius* praises" (*Anglia sacra*, II, 448). In fact, however, *Eutropius*, ends his history in 364, 200 years before the æra of Ambrose; whose Latin name, moreover, was *Ambrosius Aurelianus*, not *Aurelius Ambrosius*, as he was, first, denominated by Geoffrey of Monmouth; so that the bishop of Saint-David's had swallowed the gross falsehood of the bishop of Saint-Asaph. John Lewis, a Welsh lawyer, whose folio " History of Great Britain" is replete with forgeries and falsehoods, takes this *Ambrosius Aurelianus* for S[ain]t Ambrose. According to John of Tynemouth, in the life of Dubricius, that place is Ambrose's-mount, which is now vulgarly called Stanhenges (Usher's *Antiquitates*, p. 241.)

* B. 1, p. 9 (Frankfort edition, 1601, folio). However, it must be acknowledged that this respectable historian, who commences his work with the arrival of the Saxons, knew very little of the Britons, and that the little information he had was gleaned from a polluted manuscript of *Nennius*, which he appears to have taken for the work of *Gildas*, though he names neither.

CHAP. XIV.

Of Arthur's birth.

ARTHUR was born at Padstow in Cornwall.*

It seems impossible to deduce the descent of Arthur from any authentic source. At the end of David Williams's "History of Monmouthshire" are two different pedigrees of this great monarch, formed partly from the British history and partly in the imagination of two Welshmen, who could not distinguish a lie from a fact. That such has been the character of a Cambrian genealogist is manifest from the life of saint Cadoc, a Welshman, extant in a Cotton manuscript of the thirteenth century (Vespasian, A. XIV, of which further notice will be taken); where his pedigree is thus accurately deduced: "*Augustus Cesar genuit Octavianum, Octavianus genuit Tiberium, Tiberius genuit Gaium, Gaius*

* "*Ex charta topographica Angliæ*" (Leland's *Collectanea*, III, 27). It will appear, hereafter, that he was king of both Cornwall and Devonshire; though he might have possessed royal territories in Wales, it is not, however, known where.

genuit Claudium, Claudius genuit Vespasianum," and so forth. This gross absurdity, however, is far exceeded, by the pedigree of Lhywarch-hên, in William Owen's edition of his "Heroic Elegies," p. vii. No wonder, therefore, that the phrase of "fole Briton" should have become proverbial in the thirteenth century.* Even the Bollandist editors of the "*Acta Sanctorum*," allude to this "familiar fatuity," as they call it, of the Welsh people, in feigning genealogies, and refer to Alford, at the year 508, number 8, in what manner it is said, that Arthur "drew his origin, by his mother, from that noble leader, Joseph of Arimathea, who buried the lord:" for they write, according to these learned Jesuits, that "Helianis, the nephew of Joseph, begat Joshua, Joshua begat Aminidab, Aminidab begat Castellors, Castellors begat Mavael, Mavael begat Lambord, his son, who begat Igerna, of whom Uther-Pendragon begat the noble and famous Arthur."† Owen, in a later book, of which more will be said hereafter, asserts, without the slightest authority, that Arthur, was "the son of Meirig ab Tewdrig, and the twentieth in descent from Bran ab Llyn," and, in 501, "was

* Peter Langtoft's *Chronicle*, as translated by Robert Manning, p. 167.

† *Maii*, III, 587.

a chieftain of the Silurian Britons," and, in 517, "was elected, by the states of Britain, to sovereign authority."

Uther-Pendragon (in English, dragons-head), the reputed father of Arthur, may, possibly, have taken that surname from the form of his helmet or his crest. The most ancient author (if one may believe him to have actually been the composer of what has been ascribed to him) who appears to have made mention of this Uther, is Taliesin, surnamed *Benbeirdh* (the head or chief of the bards), who flourished (as they say) in the sixth century, and is, certainly, mentioned by Samuel, the interpolator of Nennius, [not] long after 858. He appears to have written the *Marwnad* or elegy, of Uther, which is found among manuscripts of some antiquity:* his name, however, does not occur in the poem itself, though that of Arthur does, which, certainly, adds nothing to its credit, and has either been composed or interpolated after the appearance in 1139, of Geoffrey of Monmouths British history, before the publication whereof Arthur is never mentioned by any authority unless Samuel or some other interpolator of *Nennius*, if

* " *Marwnad Ythyr, Uthuri epitaphium*" [Uthers elegy]. (Lhuyd's *Archæologia Britannica*, p. 264.)

they deserved to be so called.* The next writer, that seems to have noticed his name, without knowing it, is this Samuel or some other interpolator, who says, "*Artur, Latinè translatus, sonat ursum horribilem vel malleum ferreum, quo franguntur 'molas' leonum. Mabuter, Brittanicè, filius horribilis, Latinè; quoniam à pueritia sua crudelis fuit.*"† *Mab*, however, is agreed to mean *son*, and, though *ythr* signify *horrible*, in one sense; *Ythyr*, in another, is a proper name, synonymous with *Uther*; so that *Mab-Uther* seems to be the patronymic of *Arthur*, and though this might be his name of baptism, the other (*Uthers-son*) may have been a common method, as in fact it was and is to this day among the Welsh people to take the surname of *ap Rhees*, *ap Richard*, *ap Hugh*, and the like, in addition to the baptismal name, and, hence, the frequent corruptions of *Preece*, *Prichard*, *Pugh*, &c. *Ap*, or *ab*, is a contraction of *Máb*, a son, "and used," according to the dictionaries, "to serve, formerly, between the sons and the fathers name,

* Edward Williams, the bard and poet, does not think this elegy attributed to Taliesin, either genuine or ancient.

† C. 61. ("Arthur," that is, "translated into Latin, sounds horrible bear or iron mallet, [by which are broken] the 'jaw-bones' of lions. *Mab-uter*, in British, is, in Latin, *horrible son*; because from his birth he was cruel."

instead of a surname, as *Mac* did, at a still earlier period ; thus, in the interpolations to Nennius, the pedigree of Pascent, the third son of Vortigern, king of Britain, and who reigned, after his father, for a few years, runs thus : “ Theudubr *filius* Pascent, Mac Ap-guocan, Mac Moriud, Mac Guortheneu, Mac Guitaul, Mac Ap Glovi : * at Arthurs feast, (as described by Geoffrey of Monmouth) : “ Beside the consuls came heroes of no less dignity, who are thus enumerated : Map-Papo, Map-Coil, Mab-Eridur, Map-Hogoit, Map-Claut, Map-Cledauc, Mab-Bagan, Map-Goit, Map-Trunat, Map-Catel, Map-Ne-ton.” † It must be admitted that Uther-Pendragon is not mentioned by any historian, ‡ except Geoffrey ap Arthur, who does not, in fact, deserve the name of one : but it is, nevertheless, highly probable that Arthurs entire name was Arthur Mab-Uther.

* C. 52.

† B. 9, C. 12.

‡ Even the Welsh “ triads,” which, frequently, mention Arthur, and are quoted by the Welsh as a very ancient authority, though not believed to have been written earlier than the twelfth century, and, certainly, not before Geoffrey of Monmouth, are silent about such a name altogether” (Owens *Cambrian biography*, p. 17.)

CHAP. XV.

Of Arthurs name.

“THE reader,” according to Pinkerton, “need hardly be told that Arthur was merely a name given by the Welsh to *Aurelius Ambrosius*, their Roman defender against the Saxons:” to this he adds, “See Gildas, C. 25, *Beda*, I, 16:”* where nothing like it can possibly be found. Neither Gildas nor Bede mentions Arthur nor even *Aurelius Ambrosius*, a name invented, for the first time, by Geoffrey of Monmouth, whom this writer is apt, as he has done upon this occasion, to consult, and cite some more respectable historian. The name of the British king mentioned by Gildas and Bede is, in fact, *Ambrosius Aurelianus*. If “Arthur was, merely, a name given by the Welsh” to *Ambrosius Aurelianus* (the other being a fictitious name), how then comes Geoffrey of Monmouth, so far from bringing them together, to relate the latter to be dead

* *Enquiry into the history of Scotland*, I, 76, Note 9.

before the former was born? "*Art-uir*, Mr. Pinkerton says, signifies the chief or great man:" but no such etymology is to be discovered in the vocabulary of Lhuyd nor in the several dictionaries of Richards and Owen: this, therefore, is another absurdity, a greater, even, than that of Samuel, the interpolator of Nennius, who calls *Arthur* horrible bear, and, in fact, *arth*, certainly, means a *bear*, as *ythr* does *horrible*. How happened it, at the same time, that so accomplished a scholar should be ignorant that Arthurs name, as expressed in Latin, actually occurs to the Roman satyrist, Juvenal, four centuries, at least, before Arthur was born:

"*Cedamus patria, vivant Arturius isthic,
Et Catulus—*."*

He is, repeatedly, too, called *Arthurius* as well by Carádóc, as in the Cotton-manuscript of the lives of the Welsh Saints, (Vespasian, A. XIV) of the 13th century, and, always *Arturius*, by Leland, throughout his *Assertio Arturii*."

In a book written and published by William Owen, intitled "The Cambrian biography or historical notices of celebrated men among the ancient Britons [and modern Welsh]:" London, 1803, the author says, under the name of

* S. 3., v. 29.

ARTHUR, "It has been, generally, inferred that the great achievements of this hero created those illusory actions and scenes depicted in the *Mabinogion* or juvenilities, and some authors, with this phantom before their eyes, have denied existence to the true Arthur of history." (p. 13.) Edward Lhuyd, indeed, in his catalogue of British manuscripts,* mentions *Mabinogi*, as extant in the red book of Hergest, which he describes as a little book, containing certain fabulous petty histories of the very ancient British nobles, of which he had seen a copy, in four parts, from which he gives a few short extracts in Welsh and Latin. In Owens dictionary, he explains "*Mabinogi* [plural *mabinogion*, from *mabinawg*, *mabin*, youthful, boyish, *mab*, a boy, a son], juvenility; juvenile instruction; the amusement of youth; the title of some ancient tales. *Mabinogi Jesu Grist*, The infancy of Jesus Christ:" apparently, a childish book or book for children, like "Mother Goose's tales." So far, so good. He thus proceeds: "That there was a prince of this name, as *Nennius* represents,† who often led the Britons to battle against the Saxons, in the commencement of the sixth century [as Geoffrey

* *Archaeologia Britannica*, Oxford, 1707, folio, p. 262.

† It is mentioned by *Samuel*, who appears to have inserted *scholia* or *glosses*, but never once by *Nennius* himself.

of Monmouth says], there ought not to be any doubt; for he is mentioned by *Llywarch*,* *Merdin*,† and *Taliesin*,‡ poets who were his ‘contemporaries’ and is, often, recorded in the *triads*, “WHICH ARE DOCUMENTS OF UNDOUBTED CREDIT” (*Ibi.*). As to the historical *triads*, no ancient manuscript is to be found, and, most probably, they are after Geoffrey of Monmouth and the *Mabinogi*: they are, manifestly, too childish and ridiculous to be of any ‘authority.’ “Such,” however, is “the outline of Arthurs portrait, as exhibited by the bards and the triads. The hero of that name, in the dramatic tales, called *Mabinogion*, is, totally, of different features and, in

* Moses Williams, a Welshman and a scholar, positively, asserts, in a note on Humphrey Llwyds *Commentariolum* (P. 115) that “*Yarthur* [as in *Llywarch*s elegy upon Geraint ap Erbin] is not ARTHUR, but *Iarddur*; peradventure, *Iarddur ab Diwrig*, who, very frequently, occurs in our manuscripts.”

† Merlin the wild, the author of *Afallenau* or The apple-trees, which appears to have been interpolated, with the names of *Medrawd*, *Arthur* and *Wenhwyfar*, after the publication of the British history of Geoffrey of Monmouth, who, actually, wrote the life of this Merlin in Latin verse, 1147.

‡ That Arthur, as victor at the battle of Badon, fought about 512, is mentioned in a pretended elegiac poem of Taliesin of which there is no ‘memorial’ known to be extant either in print or manuscript, except a single stanza, inserted and translated into Latin, by Sir John Prise.

fact, altogether, another personage. The last is, then, a mythological character, of times so ancient as to be far beyond the scope of history:" which, indeed, is no bad character of Welsh literature in general. "His attributes in the *Mabinogion* point him out as such: memorials of this being and of several others connected with him are, even, written in the heavens, for certain constellations bear their names. Arthur is the *Great-bear*. *Telyn Arthur* or The harp of Arthur is, also, the British appellation for the constellation *Lyra*." This, to be sure, is a very curious anecdote of Welsh history: we read of David, king of the Jews, having a harp, but, this is the first time, we have heard of the harp of the "mythological" king Arthur, "There are some very extraordinary things to be found," adds this perspicacious and far-sighted Welshman, "concerning the mythological Arthur, in the *Mabinogion*, and, particularly, in the story of *Culhwch* and *Olwen*, wherein we recognize adventures, which must have had a common origin with those of *Hercules* and the *Argonautick voyage*" (P. 15, 16): this is, certainly, a singular instance of the modesty of this "*maganuiz*" Briton, as, it might have been, naturally, expected, that "the mythological Arthur" of the *Mabinogion*, carried up his descent many thousand years beyond *Her-*

cules or the *Argonauts*. This "common origin," however, has the coequal propensity to forgery and falsehood, which is found no less among the ancient Greeks than the coeval Welsh. The *Arcturus* or bear-ward, was never [called] the constellation of "The greater-bear."

CHAP. XVI.

Of the death of Howel.

GILDAS, a most holy man, was the contemporary of Arthur, king of the whole of Greater-Britain,* whom loving, he loved, whom he, always, desired to obey. His twenty-three brothers, nevertheless, resisted the rebellious king aforesaid, not willing to suffer his dominion; but frequently put him to flight, and expelled him from the forest and the battle. Howel, the elder, by birth, an assiduous warrior and most famous knight, obeyed no king, not even Arthur. He afflicted him, he excited between both the greatest fury. He, very frequently, came from Scotland,† he kindled fires, he carried away spoils, with victory and praise: whereupon the king of universal Britain, hearing the magnanimous youth to have done such things, and to do

* This can only mean Wales or part of Wales, and is termed Greater Britain in opposition to Less or Little Britain. In the middle of the sixth century, the greater part of England was in the possession of the Saxons.

† *Cau* or *Kau*, the father of these twenty-four brethren, was a petty king of Strath-Clyde.

others equal, pursued the most victorious and best of youth, so that the natives said and hoped he was about to be their king. In this hostile pursuit, however, and in a warlike meeting, in the Isle of Man,* he slew his enemy the plunderer. After that slaughter, Arthur, the conqueror, came back, rejoicing, very greatly, that he had overcome his strongest enemy.† Gildas,

* *Myna*, in the manuscript now citing. *Mona* (Anglesey), erroneously by Cæsar. Humphrey Llwyd (in his *Britannicæ descriptionis commentariolum*," re-edited by Moses Williams, 1731, 4to., p. 132) says "There yet remains a fragment of the ancient writer Gildas the Briton, ... in the library of Henry earl of Arundel, in which these words are had: "Britain hath three islands, Wight against Armorica: the second is situate in the navel of the sea, between Ireland and Britain: its name *Eubonia*, vulgarly *Manaw*." Bede calls it "The Menanian islands; and Henry of Huntingdon," the Menavian island, and vulgarly called *Man*." (*Ib.* p. 133). "*Nec procul hinc est Monmuthia, nobis Mynwy à concursu Monæ et Vagæ dicta*," (*Ibi.* p. 103.) Richard of Cirencester says it had been called *Maenaeda*, and was then called *Manavia*.

† "There is yet extant," according to Sir John Prise, "a place in North Wales, which still retains the memory of this slaughter, and has standing a huge stone, bearing the name of this Howel, as was the custom with the ancients to perpetuate the memory of such kind of things." (*Defence*, &c. p. 143.) If this be true, the slaughter did not happen in the Isle of *Man*, but in North-Wales, where the stone stands, and which in the sixth century, [may have] been called the Isle of *Mynwy*. *Menay* is a river in Anglesey. "Of Gildas," says Girald Barry,

the historiographer of the Britons, ruling and preaching in the city of Ardmach [in Ireland], heard that his brother had been slain by Arthur. He grieved at the hearing, he wept with groans, that the dearest brother, for the dearest brother, prayed daily for the fraternal spirit. He prayed, moreover, for Arthur, the pursuer and slayer of his brother, fulfilling the apostolic command, which says, "Pray for those who persecute you and bless those that hate you." In the mean time, the most holy Gildas, the most venerable historiographer, came to Britain.* The arrival

"who so bitterly inveighs against his own nation, the Britons say that on account of his brother, prince of Albany, whom king Arthur had killed, being offended, he wrote these things: whence also, many excellent books, which he had written, concerning the acts of Arthur, and in the praises of his nation, the death of his brother being heard, as they assert, he cast them all into the sea: by reason of which thing, you find nothing of so great a prince expressed in authentic writings."

(*De illau, Wal. c. 27.*)

By "the king on the Clyde, with whom Arthur fought," Mr. Sharon Turner, who quotes "Usher, p. 676," seems to mean this Howel, at p. 677. Arthur, however, fought no king on the Clyde.

*Pinkerton pretends that the *saint* and the *historian* were two different men." Gildas *Albanus*," he says, "or the *saint*, must be carefully distinguished from that Gildas, who wrote the book *De excidio Britonum* [*Britannia*]: and who lived a century after . . . Caradoc of Llancarvon [Llancarvan], the Welch

of Gildas the wise being heard by king Arthur, and the primates, abbots and bishops, of all Britain, numberless individuals, out of the clergy and people came together, that they might appease Arthur for the abovesaid homicide." But, he, as he had at first done, the rumour of his brothers death being known, granted a pardon to the enemy requesting it: he gave him a kiss, and, with the gentlest mind, blessed him. This done, king Arthur, grieving and crying received, from

[Welsh] historian wrote the life of St. Gildas, who was only remarkable for superior piety, and was no writer" (*Enquiry*, II, 275). Yet this identical Carádóc, in his life of SAINT GILDAS, here cited, expressly says, that teaching, at Glastonbury, he, there wrote the history of the kings of Britain: "*Ibi scripsit historias de regibus Britannie.*" (c. 20); and, repeatedly calls him "*Brittonum historiographus*" (c. 10); and "*venerebilis historiographus*" (c. 11.). A different life of THIS SAINT, likewise, by an anonymous Monk of Ruys, frequently printed, though it disagree in many particulars with this of Carádóc, still preserves the identity of the *historian* and the *saint*; and even, gives an extract from his book: that Gildas the *saint* was a different person from the "British Jeremiah," as Gibbon calls him, and was no writer, are two ignorant assertions. Leland, Bale, Pits and Tanner, it is true, enumerate, among them, no less than seven Gildases, all distinguished with an appropriate epithet, as, Gildas *Albanus*, Gildas *Badonicus*, Gildas *Bannocho-rens*, Gildas *Cambrius*, Gildas *Hibernicus*, Gildas *Quartus* and Gildas *Sapiens*; to which Dempster, adds Gildas *Aldanus*, and some one else, by way of joke, Gildas *Fictitius*.

the bishops standing by, penance and made amends, in as much as he was able, till he ended his life."*

* "Thus one man, in his time, plays many parts,
His acts being seven ages——."

It must be admitted, however, there, really, is a Gildas, who was none of these, and has no addition, but merely flourished in the ninth century and left a work intitled, "*Liber de computo* (Cotton MSS. Vitellius, A. xii), with a prefatory epistle to *Rabanus Maurus* (inserted in Usher's "*Veterum epistolarum Hibernicarum Sylloge*:" Dub. 1632, 4to. p. 55).

Gildas, beside, as we are informed by Leland, [appears] to have written books intitled *Cambreidos* (a metrical version, it is likely, of the British history of Geoffrey of Monmouth, who came into the world upward of five centuries after Gildas had gone out of it), "found 80 years and upward, before that time, in the Irish isles, and carried into Italy" (*Collectanea*, V, 57), "by one *Blasius Biragus*, in 1460," as Bale says. Whether this be what is contained in the Cotton manuscript, (Julius D. xi.) ascribed by Bale, in whose hand it seems to have been, to a certain Gildas, who flourished, according to that fabulous writer, in 860 ("*Teste Baleo*"): it is, frequently, quoted by archbishop Usher, in his "*Antiquitates*," and begins,

"*Primus ab Ytalia post patris fata relegat.*"

Ponticus Virunnius, who abridged Geoffrey's British History, has some things which are not to be found, precisely in that. This is an extract: "Now the name of the damsel [Claudius's daughter, see that history, B. 4, c. 15.] was *Gennissa*, (although the poet Gildas calls her *Invenissa*, [Iuvenissa] . . . and so a city was there made [by Claudius] . . . and to be composed histories and verses, and the poems *Cambres*, of

which, also, in the fifth book of epigrams, Gildas, the famous British Poet, says :

“*Jucundæ toties cecini tibi carmina Cambres,*”

and said, *Sambuca* thou rushest from Venus, now to thee *Onnidusituus* becomes vile. Now *sambuca* is a triangular musical instrument (they vulgarly called it a harp), whereof part is broad, and being concave is held to the breast, the fingers clatter upon the chords, in French they vulgarly call it *Bandose* [Q. Bandore, *Mandore*, F. Pandore, Drayton's, *Works*, II. 736] . . . so, also, Apollonius detracted *Typanon* for *Tympanon*, and *Basamon* for *Balsomon*, so *Sabuca* for *Sambuca*, and moreover it seems to insinuate as if he himself were the writer of the Cambrean song, and from the sphere of Venus the sweetness of melody to descend, or, even, *Cambre* that is Britain, as above, it is the British book, as are Cæsars commentaries, or any British book, which was read at Rome, for, always was Britain learned, even in Greek, or the Poem of Gildas is not to be doubted.” Powells edition, 1585, L. 4, P. 28). Lily Gregory Gyrald has these words : “ I remember me to have read Gildas a British Poet far more ancient (as I think) than these [I have, just mentioned], whose elegiack poem appeared to me to be written with wonderful facility nor therefore to be, wholly contemned : which, afterward I, also found cited in a very ancient British history.” (*Opera*, L. B. 1696, folio, II, 306.) By this “ very ancient British history” he must either mean Geoffrey of Monmouth or *Ponticus Virunnius* : he is, certainly, deceived in imputing an elegiack poem to Gildas. Bale (amongst palpable falsehoods and forgeries) imputes to his Gildas *Albanus*, 1, *Versus vaticiniorum* : “ O rabiem Britonum quos copia dividit :” 2, *De Sexto cognoscendo* : “ Ter tria lustra tenent quum.” [MS. Bib. Bod. Digby, 186 : Tanner] : 3, *Super eodem Sexto* : “ Cambria Carnewan Anglis :” 4. *Versus Gilde de Sexto rege Hibernie*, MS. Bod. 2086, 2157.

In one of the Cambridge manuscripts of Gildas, Cormac, who, in or about the 12th century, prefixed heads for the first twenty chapters, which have great merit and are mistaken by many, as being the genuine work of Gildas ; but that is, certainly, not the case, as, in the same manuscript, his *scholia* or glosses run through the margin, but have not been printed (except a few extracts in Ushers Antiquities, the writer whereof thus challenges his right to what he had done, in the following epigram at the end :

*“ Historiam Gildae Cormac sic perlege scriptam
Doctoris digitis sensu, cultuque, redactam,
Hæc tenues superat, multos carpitque superbos.”*

CHAP. XVII.

Of the rape of Gwennimar, Arthurs queen.

GLASTONBURY was besieged by Arthur, the tyrant, with a numberless multitude, on account of Guennemar, his wife, violated and ravished, by the unjust king Melvas, in Somersetshire, and there brought, on account of the refuge of the inviolate place, on account of the fortifications of reeds, and of a river, and of a marsh, for the sake of protection. The rebellious king had sought the queen for the compass of one year; he heard, at length, that she was remaining in that place; he moved the army of all Cornwall and Devonshire, and made ready for a battle against his enemies. This seen, the abbot of Glastonbury (Gildas, likewise, bearing him company), entering between the armies, advised Melvas, his king, that he should, peaceably, restore the ravished queen. She, therefore, was restored, by whom she had been to be restored, through peace and benevolence. These things being transacted, the two kings, who came to the temple of saint Mary, to visit and to pray,

gave to the abbot many territories, the abbot confirming the beloved fraternity, for the peace had and for the benefits which they had made, and, more amply, those which they were about to make. Thence the two kings returned pacified, promising, reverently, to obey the most reverend abbot of Glastonbury, and never violate the most holy place nor, even, things subject to the principal place.†

* *Vita sancti Gildae, manuscriptus regis*, 13 B. VII.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of the battles of Arthur.

IN or about the year 457, the Saxons prevailed and increased, not a little, in Britain. Now, Hengist being dead,* Ohta, his son, went over, from the left† part of Britain, to the kingdom of the Cantuarians, and from him are sprung the kings of that country. Arthur fought against them, in those days, that is to say, the Saxons with the kings of the Britons; but he himself was the general of the wars, and in all the battles was conqueror.‡ The first battle was in the mouth of the river Glem.§ The second and third, and fourth and fifth [battle] upon another river,

* He was the first Saxon king of Kent, and died in 488.

† The *left*, it is said, means the *north*, because the priest, in saying mass, looks toward the *east*: though, it is believed to be, elsewhere, otherwise accounted for.

‡ Samuels additions to Nennius's *Historia Britonum*, C. 62.

§ The Cambridge manuscript used by Gale, under the name of *Gildas*, reads *Glein*, and, in the margin is *Devonia* [Devonshire] and *Gleni*; but more rightly, he says *Glem* in *Lincoln-*

which is called *Duglas*, which is in the region *Linuis*.* The sixth battle [was] upon the river which is called *Bassas*.† The seventh battle was in the wood of Caledon, that is, *Catcoit Celidon*.‡

shire, where is now *Glemford*? There is, however, a river *Glen* in *Northumberland*, which gives name to *Glendale*. Thus, in the old ballad of “*The hontyng of the Chyviat* ;”

“*Glendale glytteryde on their armor bright.*”

* *Linuis* or *Linnis*, which appears to be *Lancashire*, in which is a river, called the *Dowglas*, which runs by *Wigan* and goes into the sea toward *Latham*, and is the only one of that name, it is believed, in the south of Britain (See *Leland's Itinerary*, V, 96). The etymon of *Duglas*, in Welsh, is *du* (*dubh*, black) and *glas* (blue or green).

† *Bassas*.] Where is now *Boston*. Gale. This, however, only shows his folly, *Boston* being a contraction of *Saint-Botolphs-town*. Q. *Basford*, in *Staffordshire*.

‡ *Cath-coit*.] In the margin of the Cambridge manuscript, *Cornubiae* [Cornwall] : but, in the Cotton one, also ascribed to *Gildas*, more rightly, (as Gale thinks,) in *Lincolnshire* : for this reason, as it seems : “ On the other part at the *Aufona* [at this day the *Nen* or *Welland*] inhabited, with the *Carnabii Brigantes* and neighbours to the ocean, the *Coitanni*, ‘is’ a tract of ground overgrown with woods, which, like other woods of the Britons, was called *Caledonia* : of this, however, the historian *Florus* makes mention.” (Richard of Cirencester, p. 26.) He has, likewise, two other Caledonian woods, one of which he places in Kent, the other in the most distant northern part of Scotland. The words of *Florus*, being said of *Caesar* : “ Pursuing the same Britons into the Caledonian woods he put one of the Cavelatian kings in chains.” (B. 3, C. 10.) Who, how-

The eighth battle was in the castle *Gunnion*. The ninth battle was waged in the city *Legion* [which in British, is called *Kaerleun*].* The tenth battle was waged on the shore of the river which is called *Ribroit*.† The eleventh battle was in the mount which is called *Agned Cath-Regonion*.‡ The twelfth battle was in the mount *Badon*, in which fell, in one day, eight [r. four] hundred and forty men, from one bout of Arthur, and no man overthrew them but himself alone.”§

ever, the *Cavelani* were, does not appear. Humphrey Llwyd imagines they may be “The *Cattivellani* [*Κατίουλλανοί*] of Dio, or the *Cattieuchlani* of Ptolemy, now Hertford and Buckingham, shire mountaineers.” (*Com.* p. 31.)

* Now Caerleon-upon-Usk, or *Caer-Legion*, upon Dee, now West-Chester.

† *Trathtreveroit* [*Traithenrith* or *Rhydrhwyd*,] *Gildas* manuscript, *Arderit*, Cotton manuscript and *Prise* and a *Chronicon Walliae*, manuscript, cited by Gale, probably *Aerae Britannicæ, ad finem*. H. Llwyd, *Commentariolum*, 1731, 4to. p. 142, *Arderydd*.

‡ In the margin of the Cotton *Gildas*: “in Sumerseteshire, *quem nos Cath-bregon*.” [*Cath* or *cád*, in Welsh, signifies *battle*.] “These battles, together enumerated, appear to be waged in the space of forty years and more, and although, all here seem to be attributed to Arthur, nevertheless, they appear to have been waged, under Vortigern, Ambrosius and others,” says Gale, but without quoting the slightest authority.

§ *Historia Britonum*, C. 63. The battle of *Badon*, according to the computation of Archbishop Usher, was fought in the

year 520, which date, with his usual weakness, he takes from Matthew of Westminster. "The Badonick mount," upon the best, because the oldest authority, that of Gildas, "was near the mouth of the Severn; and, therefore, cannot be *Bansdowne* or any hill over Bath, though it may be true that the British name of that city was *Caer-Badon*, yet Bath is, in no wise, near the mouth of the Severn: and, consequently, the situation of Mount Badon is not now known. The birth of Gildas happened in the year of this battle: but he does not give a precise date throughout his book. His words are these: "*Et ex eo tempore [466] nunc cives, nunc hostes vincebant . . . usque ad annum obsessionis Badonici montis, qui propè Sabrinum ostium habetur, novissimæque fermè de furciferis non minimæ stragis, quique quadragesimus quartus (ut novi oriter [aliàs orditur] annus, mense jam primo emenso, qui jam et meæ nativitatis est.*" (*Historia de excidio Britanniaë*, C. 26). In English thus: "And from this time," that is "now the citizens, now the enemies conquered . . . until the year of the siege of the Badonick mount, which is near the Severn-mouth, and which was, almost of the last, not of the least overthrow of the villains, and which, as I know, begun the forty-fourth year the first [or, one] month being now elapsed, which, also, was [that] of my nativity." Bede, nearly in the same words, which he, certainly, however, misunderstood, supposes the 44th year, intended by Gildas, to be that of the arrival of the Saxons [449]; and, in consequence of this erroneous computation, fixes the siege of the Badonick mount to the year 492. Archbishop Usher, after a quotation, in his usual manner, from Geoffrey of Monmouth,* proceeds as follows (though neither his Latin or

* "If one were desired to mention a work capable of shewing that an authour may be vastly and profoundly learned, without possessing common judgment, Ushers *Antiquitates Britannicarum Ecclesiarum* might be produced as an instance. Yet . . .

English is worth giving): "As to what belongs to the time of the battle, Bede notes this overthrow of the Saxons to have been made *about the fortieth and fourth year of their coming into Britain*; referring that number of years declared by Gildas to things before-hand; whereas the time, in which those things were written by him, seems to have been regarded: forasmuch as if he had said, from the Badonick slaughter the fortieth and fourth year then to have begun to be numbered; one month of that year, being, at that time elapsed: and himself to have known it from his age; because, he himself had learned, from his parents, the year both of his own birth and of that victory to have been the same. Therefore, Matthew, the florilegist, [who knew nothing of the matter] delivers this battle to have been made in the year of grace 520: a British chronologer, also, [equally ignorant] giving his vote; whom we have already shewn to have numbered from the Badonick battle [of which no man of any capacity has ever attempted the exact æra] to the fall of Arthur 22 years [Above, C. 12]: which being granted, both Gildas, in that year, to have been brought into light, and, in the year 564, by him written this epistle of his which we have, the corollary will be alike."* This authentic Welsh chronologer, whom the archbishop here refers to, is Sir John Prise, as firm a believer in Geoffrey of Monmouth, or his followers, as himself. In the pages of the Welsh knights book (121, 122), quoted, by Usher, in the margin of his *Antiquities*, p. 216, are these words: "*Item in chronicis Brytannicè scriptis*

had his judgment equalled his learning and diligence, he would have been the most valuable antiquary that the British islands ever produced." (Pinkerton's *Enquiry into the History of Scotland*, I, 106.) It is, certainly, a just character. Camden and Hearne, however, and many others, are little better, and Stukeley is below contempt.

* Britan. *Ecclesiarum Antiquitates*, C. 13, P. 254. (1687, folio.)

antiquissimis," palpable extracts from that writer, who fixes the fall of Arthur to the year 542, and, published by Moses Williams, at the end of his edition of Humphrey Llwyds "*Britannicae descriptionis commentariolum*," (London, 1731, 4to.), which he calls "*Aeræ Cambrobritannicae*," which end in 1254, and are nothing but a despicable farrago of no real antiquity, but servilely plagiarised, from the British history, so far as it goes. It is an unfounded assertion, that the Welsh either have or ever had an authentic history or chronology before the twelfth century.

Doctor Smith, the learned editor of Bede, after giving the words of Gildas, "*Quique quadragesimus, &c.*" adds, "which, being considered the number of years declared by Gildas, appears to be rather the time of writing than the arrival of the Saxons: for Gildas, that is, to have written a year from the Bardonic fight, 44 the year to himself, in the first place was memorable, to whom, also, was that of his birth. If this be the true interpretation," he adds, "it will give another chronology of this time."* This, no doubt, may be the true construction, yet, as Gildas specifies neither the date of the battle, nor that of his birth, nor that of writing his querulous epistle, the former cannot be, possibly, ascertained to be 520, nor the latter 564. The year of his death is known, upon good authority (that of the Ulster annals), to be 570; so that, by computing, backward, to the battle of Badon, it is impossible to fix it higher than 526. Still neither Matthew of Westminster nor Sir John Prise or his modern Welsh chronicles, pilfered from that notorious fabrication Geoffrey of Monmouths "*History of Britain*," will afford any decisive authority that 520 was the exact year; as, in 570, Gildas would be only 50 years old at his death, which is highly improbable, as the monks and

* Note on Bedes *Ecclesiastical History*, B. 1, c. 16.

hermits, by their habitual temperance, generally attained a very great age.

If Taliessin were the contemporary of Arthur (and, certainly the name of this bard is mentioned, among others, in the additions to Nennius's "History of the Britons,") and the poem supposed, to allude to this engagement be genuine, they would be decisive evidence in favour of Arthur and his victory at Badon-mount. The same bard mentions him again in the *Marwnad Uthyr Pendragon* ("Myrvyrian Archæology of Wales," I, 72), but in no other poem. In the same collection are three dialogues, between Arthur, Cai and Glewlwyd (I, 167); between Arthur and Gwenhwyvar (I, 175); and between Arthur and Eliowlod (I, 176.) Lhuyd mentions a very ancient Welsh poem, in Jesus College, Oxford, intitled "*Englynion yr eryr*, a dialogue between Arthur and an eagle." (*Archæologia*, P. 256). Arthur is, likewise, repeatedly mentioned, in a dialogue "between Trystan and Gwalchmai (I, 178); and, with both Gwenhwyfar and Medrawd, in the *Afallenau* of Merlin the wild: if, that is, these poems can be proved of sufficient antiquity. He is not, however, according to Moses Williams, the *Y Arthur* who occurs in a poem of Llywarch-hên, as Sir John Prise, Lewis and William Owen, doubtless, by a corruption of some of the manuscripts, as Williams, though a man of some learning, was yet a Welshman, and, certainly, would never have given up Arthur, if he had not been satisfied of the forgery or sophistication of that name [*y Arthur* or *i Arthur*, for *Yarthur*]: his words being *Yarthur non Arthurus est, sed Iardurus, Iarddur, fortè Iarddur ab Diwrig, qui in nostris codicibus manuscriptis saepius occurrit.*"* Carte says that Llywarch mentions, in his poems, that he had been at the court of King Arthur: but nothing of that kind is to be found in Owens edition,

* *Humfredi Llwyd, Britannicæ descriptionis commentarium Accurante Mose Gulielmio. Londini, 1731,*" p. 115.

CHAP. XIX.

Of Arthurs dominions and royal palaces.

THE dominions of the British kings were, probably, not very considerable. The best authority for the situation of Arthurs kingdom seems to be a passage in Carádocs life of Saint Gildas : when he had laid siege to Glastonbury, the castle or palace of Melvas, king of Somerset, who there detained Guennimar, his queen, “ He thither moved the army of whole Cornwall and Devonshire :”* which seems to denote that he had the power of those provinces, and, consequently, was king thereof. He might, however, be styled king, or a king of Britain, which appears to have been a usual custom with the British kings. He might, nevertheless, have had territories, in South Wales ; but, certainly, was not king of Gwent, which was possessed by *Arthrius* or *Arthruis*, apparently, a different name and of a distinct race or family, which is much better known than that of our Arthur, whom one may safely venture to

* C. 22.

call king of Cornwall. The tradition, preserved by Leland, of his being born in Padstow, appears, likewise, to afford some countenance to his being of that country; of which there are other circumstances, by no means irrelative: more plausible, at least, than any thing concerning his life or actions, related in Geoffrey of Monmouths "History of Britain," or the Welsh legends, which are founded upon it; as this people, it is certain, have not the life of a single saint, containing any anecdote, or, even, the name of Arthur, or any of his ancestors, descendants or other connections, which is not posterior to, and polluted by, that false and fabulous compilation; except that of Saint Gildas, by Carádoc of Llancarvan, whom Geoffrey himself, along with William of Malmesbury and Henry of Huntingdon, orders "to be silent concerning the kings of the Britons [of which he had treated], since they had not that book of the British speech, which Walter [of Wallingford], arch-deacon of Oxford, brought out of Britany."

With respect to Arthurs palace, "They report that a certain man [named] Dihoc, a prince of Less-Britain, by incestuous fornication, polluted his own daughter and of her begot Saint Kyned: who, in a province, by name *Goyr*,* at one mile

* *Guyr*, Gower, or Gower-land, a promontory upon the

from the palace of Arthur, being brought to light, and in the island, which, in British, was called *Ynis-Weryn*, in Latin, *Insula turbae* [the isle of trouble], not without a miracle, for eighteen years, educated, in Glamorganshire, with Saints David, Theliau and Patern, connected by necessity, passed away the time of his remaining life : in that peninsula, doubtless, which is called Western-Gower, and, at the sea, serves a place, noted to this day by the name of Saint-Kenets-chapel."* A passage in the life of Saint Iltut expressly speaks of Arthurs palace, though it does not name it: "The magnificent knight, Bican, in the mean time, hearing the magnificence of king Arthur, his cousin, desiring to visit the court of so great a conqueror, deserted that which we call Further-Britain, and came, sailing, where he saw the greatest abundance of knights.† There, likewise, being honorably received and rewarded to his warlike desire, his

Severn-sea, now in Glamorganshire (formerly *Morganwg*), now called *Worms-head*. Within this territory were several old castles: as, for instance, Swinesey (that is, in Saxon, the water of sea-hogs or porpoises; now *Swansea*), Guible, Penrise, and "Lochor-castle, 'standing' on the hither side of Lochor-river, in the lordship of Gower." (*Lelands Collectanea*, III, 94.)

* Ushers *Antiquities* (from John of Tinmouth), p. 275.

† This must be false, as there were no knights in the sixth century.

desire of taking presents being fulfilled, he departed most grateful, from the royal court.”*

“The public report of those inhabiting the roots of the Camaletic mount, affirms, extols, sings the name of Arthur, the inhabitant, formerly, of the castle, which same, in time past, being both magnificent and very strongly fortified, and in a very high prospect, where the mount rises up, was situate. Good gods ! how many [are] here of the most deep ditches ! How many are here of trenches of cast-out land ! Finally, what precipices ! and that I may finish in few [words], it seems to me, truly, a miracle of both art and nature.”†

*“ At seges est ubi Troia fuit, stabulantur in urbe,
Et fossis pecudes altis, valloque tument
Taxus et astutæ posuere cubilia vulpes.”*

“ At the very south ende of the chirch of South Cadbury, standith Camallate, sumtyme a famose town or castelle, upon a very tone or hille wonderfully enstrengthenid of nature : to the which

* Fo. 42, b. So that, it would seem, John of Tinmouth was mistaken in attributing the journey to Iltut, the son of Bican, himself : See Usher, 252.

† Lelands *Collectanea*, V. 28, 29. The three Latin lines are extracted from the *Archithrenius* of John Hanvil, of which there were two editions, but no printed copy is now known to exist.

be two enteringes up by [a] very stepe way : one by north-est, and another by south-est. The very roote of the hille wheron this fortieres stode is more than a mile in cumpace. In the upper parte of the coppe of the hille be 4 ditches or trenches, and a balky waulle of yerth, betwixt every one of them. In the very toppe of the hille, above all the trenchis, is *magna area* or *campus* of a 20 acres or more by estimation, wher, yn dyverse places, men may se fundacions and *rudera* of walles. There was much dusky blew stone that people of the villages therby hath caryid away. Much gold, sylver and coper of the Romaine coynes hath be found ther yn plouing : and lykewise in the felde in the rootes of this hille, with many other antique thinges, and especial[ly] by este. The people can telle nothing ther, but that they have hard say that Arture much resortid to Camalat.”*

* Lelands *Itinerary* II, fo. 46, 47 ; p. 75, 76. In *Mort d'Arthur* we find “ Camelot which is now called Winchester,” distinct places in the old French romance of Lancelot. That Arthur, however, should be able to keep his court either at Winchester or in its neighbourhood is rather doubtful, as it is believed, that, during the most part of the sixth century, this country was in the actual possession of the Saxons. That he might have resided at *Caer-went*, in Monmouthshire, the ruins whereof are said to be still visible, which may, in later times, have been confounded with *Caer-Wynt*, now *Winchester*, is very possible.

“ Arthures-hall [in the hundred of Trigg, Cornwall], a place so called, and, by tradition, held to be a place whereunto that famous king Arthure resorted. It is a square plot, about sixty foot long and thirty-five broad ; situate on a plain mountain, wrought some three feet into the ground, and, by reason of the depression of the place, there standeth a stang or pool of water, the place set about with flat stones.”*

“ Three dear times,” according to the Welsh triads, [were] in the isle of Britain : one of them was when Medraut [Modred] came to the palace of [his uncle] Arthur, in Kelliwic, in Cornwall ; he left neither meat nor drink in the palace unconsumed, and pulled Gwenhuyfar [his queen], likewise, out of her royal throne, and hit her a blow. The second dear time was when Arthur came to the palace of Medraut ; he left neither meat nor drink in the palace, nor, in the hundred.”† This tripod of two feet may seem to

* Nordens *Description of Cornwall*, p. 71 : an engraving of “ Arthures-hall” is given in the same page ; and “ Arthures-hall, a decayed place,” occurs in his map.

† These triads or threes (in Welsh, “ *Triodh ynys Prydain*”) are the name of a book, which, for its imputed antiquity, and authentic anecdotes, these people hold in very high esteem, alledging it, with their accustomed extravagance, to be not less than of one thousand years, or even “ of the seventh century.”

have given rise to the following nursery-rhyme :

“ I went to Taffys house,
Taffy was not at home,
Taffy came to my house,
And stole a marrow-bone.”*

(Letter from Lewis Morris, *Cambrian Register*, I. 350 ; and account of the life of Llywarch hên, prefixed to William Owens edition of his *Heroick Elegies*, &c. p. viii. note). It mentions, however, the ecclesiastical historian Bede, who died in 731, and Morgan Muyn-vaur, king of Glamorgan, whose death happened about 972, and savours too much, it must be confessed, of Geoffrey of Monmouths British history, to be, even, coeval with that book, which, as has been, elsewhere, proved, first appeared in the year 1138. Of whatever age it may be, it contains a variety of the adventures of king Arthur, and other Welsh heroes, the names of his knights, courtiers, officers, wives, mistresses, and the like ; but, most probably, nothing, except fable and romance. Robert Vaughan, of Hengwrt, who was born in 1592, and died in 1666, had proposed and prepared an edition of this book, in Welsh and English, with notes ; but it never appeared, nor is it certainly known what became of it, or where it is. The most ancient manuscript of these *triades* is the *Lhyr koch o Hergest*, or red book of Hergest, now in Jesus-college, Oxford, and the most modern, belike, in the Harleian library, number 4181, with a partial translation by Hugh Thomas, and corrected, in many parts, by W. T. [William Thomas?] with additions of his own.

* *Gammer Gurtons garland*.

CHAP. XX.

Of the death of Arthur.

LELAND, speaking of the Alan, a river in Cornwall, says, "By this ryvere Arture fowght his last feld, yn token whereof the people fynd there, yn plowyng, bones and harneys."* John, abbot of Burgh [Peterborough, that is, about the year 1250], according to the same antiquary, had, in his annals, committed these [words] to his faithful papers: "King Arthur, about to die, hid himself, lest at such an event, his enemies should insult, and his friends, being confused, should be molested."† There seems, in fact, some truth in this anecdote; since it does not appear to have been known, for 640 years, to any person in the kingdom, where his or his wifes body had been interred. William of Malmesbury, a Somersetshire man, and very intimate, no doubt, at Glastonbury-abbey, who is supposed to have died in 1143, expressly says that "the sepulchre of Arthur was never seen." It would appear a most

* *Itinerary*, VII, 114.† *Collectanea*, V, 44.

extraordinary circumstance that the bodies of Arthur and his queen could have been interred in the public cemetery of Glastonbury-abbey, with all the usual processions, dirges and ceremonies of the abbot and monks, without which no interment was ever permitted in such a place, and that this should be unknown to those who actually assisted in and performed the ceremony.*

* This may be thus accounted for: the abbot and monks of Glastonbury were a very different set from those of Henry the Seconds: being Britons or Welsh, it is probable, they kept no registers, or, if they had kept any, they might be destroyed by the Saxons, who, for some time were Pagans. The precise year of Arthurs death has never been, and, most likely, never will be ascertained.

CHAP. XXI.

Of Noah, the son, and Walwen, the nephew,
of Arthur.

“**N**OAH (*Noë*), the son of Arthur, fulfilling the commandment of the apostle, saying, “Give and it shall be given to you :” and, elsewhere, ‘as’ is said, “The hand extending [itself] shall not be indigent,” gave, for the commerce of the celestial kingdom, in the first time, the land Pennalun, with his territory, without any assessment to [any] earthly man, but only to god and the archbishop Dubricius and Landaff, founded in honour of Saint Peter ; and to all succeeding him and Llan-Teilo-maur, upon the bank of the Tyvi, with his two territories, where Teliau, the pupil and disciple of saint Dubricius, frequents ; * and the territories of the North-Welsh, † upon the bank of the river Tay : Noah putting his hand upon the four gospels, and commending, in the hand of the archbishop Dubricius, this

* Teliau succeeded Dubricius, as archbishop, in 512. It is not known how long the latter had continued in the see.

† *Aquilensium*.

alms for ever, with all his refuge, and with all his liberty in field and in woods, in water and in pastures, under an everlasting curse, whosoever from that day in future,* should separate from the church of Landaff, the aforesaid lands, and with his dignity: *Amen*. Of the laicks, Noah is the only witness, with a numberless power of men. Of the clerks, truly, the archbishop Dubricius, Arguistil, Ubelbui, Lovann, Lunabui, Conbran, Guorvan, Ethearn, Ludnou, Gurdocui, Guernabui. Be peace in their days, and abundance of things to those who shall confirm the gift: and to those who shall violate it [let] their sons be orphans and their wives widows."*

* *In antea.*

† *Monasticon Anglicanum*, III, 190, (from the register of Landaff). This is the only instance which occurs, apparently in that register, with the name of ARTHUR, so spelled: the king of Gwent, son of Mouric, king of Morganwg, and father of Morcant, is, uniformly called *Arthrius* or *Arthruis*; who appears a different personage, and was of a later age, being contemporary with Comegern or Comergwyn, bishop of Landaff, about 600. If, therefore, the battle of Badon were actually fought by king Arthur (who, at the same time, is not here called a king, nor appears, even, to be living at the time his son executed this grant, in the presence (amongst other witnesses) of the archbishop Dubricius, who died in 512: so that he is near ten years too soon, as *Arthruis* is above twenty too late. Sir John Prise, who appears to have had the register of Landaff (now in Lichfield-cathedral, where it is called *Saint Chads book*), only notices this grant from a certain Noë, son of Arthur (p. 127).

“In the province of Wales, which is called Ros, was found the grave of Walwen, who was the not-degenerate nephew of Arthur out of his sister and reigned in that part of Britain, which hitherto is called *Walwertha* : a knight most famed in valour, but, from the brother and nephew of Hengist, being driven out of his kingdom, first compensating his exile by their great damage. Communicating, deservedly, to the praise of his uncle, that the fall of his tottering country he put off for many years. But the grave of Arthur was never seen, whence the antiquity of trivial songs fables him yet to come : as to the rest, the grave of the other, as I have said before, was found in the time of king William [1086], upon the shore of the sea, fourteen feet long, where, by some, he is asserted to have been wounded by his enemies and cast out to sea ; by some he is said to have been killed by the citizens in a public feast. The knowledge of the truth, therefore, wavers in doubt, although neither of them has wanted to the defence of his fame.”*

* William of Malmesbury, B. 3, p. 115, (edition of Frankfurt, 1601, folio.) Geoffrey calls *Walwen*, *Walganus*, by others he is called *Galganus*, *Gawain*, *Gawin* or *Wawin*, the *W* and *G* being convertible in Welsh. The date, 1086, and the 21st year of the king, is in Leland's *Collectanea*, I, 417 : but how he came by it does not appear.

CHAP. XXII.

Of Arthurs popularity.

WILLIAM Somerset, monk of Malmesbury, who appears to have died in the year 1143, has these words: [Vortimer] being extinct, the strength of the Britons withered away [and] their hopes, being impaired, flowed back, and now and then had [things] suddenly gone worse 'if' Ambrose, the sole survivor of the Romans who, after Vortigern, was monarch of the realm, had not weighed down the swelling barbarians, with the glorious acts of the warlike Arthur. This," he says, "is the Arthur of whom the elegiac songs of the Britons, at this very day, dote :* worthy, it is plain, whom not fallacious fables should have dreamed, but veracious histories should have spoken, forasmuch as he long

* *De gestis regum Anglorum*, L. 1, C. 1, p. 9. "*Brittonum nugæ*:" these *nugæ* or elegiac songs or poems, usually composed on the fall of great heroes, are elsewhere (L. 3, p. 115), called "*antiquitas naeniarum*," a word of the same meaning, have not come down to us in a single instance.

sustained his falliug country and whetted the broken citizens to war.†

“ This country,” says Girald Barry, bishop of Saint-Davids, speaking of Wales, “ except from the north, is shut up, on all sides, by lofty mountains, having on the west, the mountains of the cantred Bachan, on the south, the southern mountains, the principal of which is called *Cadair Arthur*, that is, Arthurs chair, on account of the twin points of the promontory, looking in the manner of a chair; and forasmuch as the chair was situate in a high and arduous place, it was by vulgar nuncupation assigned to Arthur, the highest and greatest king of the Britons.”*

Sir John Prise gravely remarks, “ Not far from this lake [*Lhyn-Tegyd*, near Harlech] is a place called *Caergay*, which was the house of Gay, Arthurs foster-brother.”†

* *Ibi*. It is highly probable, nevertheless, that this venerable monk, who commences his history with the Saxon kings, knew very little of the history of the Britons, and still less of king Arthur, and that all the information he had was derived from an apparently imperfect and interpolated copy of *Nennius*, whom, however, he never once names. What he says of “ re-racious histories” of Arthur, seems to prove that there was no such thing either in England or Wales.

* *Itinerarium Cambriæ*, L. 1, C. 2.

† *Description of Wales*, (prefixed to *Caradocs Historie of Cambria*, by Lhoyd and Powell, 1584, 4to. b. l.) p. 9.

“ *Artures hille* is iii good Walsche miles south-west from Brekenok, and in the veri toppe of the hille is a faire welle spring. This hille of summe is countid the hiest hille of Wales, and in a veri clere day, a manne may see from hit a part of Malvern-hilles, and Glocestre, and Bristow, and part of Devenshir and Cornwale.”*

“ In the isle of Anglesey are several cromlechs, which they there call *Arthurs quoits*.”†

“ Withyn a myle of Perith, but in Westmerland, is a ruine, as sum suppose of a castel, withyn a flite-shotte of Loder and as much of Emot water, stonding almost as a *mediamnis* betwixt them. The ruine is of sum caullid the round-table, and of summe, Artures castel.”‡

“ On this ryver,” says Froissart, mistaking the Tyne for the Esk, “ standeth the towne and castell of Carlyel, the whiche some tyme was kyng Arthurs, and held his courte there often-times.”§

A parish, in Cumberland, is called by “ The name of *Arthuret* or Arthurs-head :”||

“ Etterby [a township, in the parish of Stan-

* Lelands *Itinerary*, V. 70.

† Wrights *Louthiana*, Part 3, Page 11.

‡ Lelands *Itinerary*, VII, 52.

§ English Translation, 1525, fol. vii, 6.

|| *History of Cumberland*, by Nicolson and Burn, 1777, 4to. p. 471.

wix, in Eskdale-ward, Cumberland], in old writings is called *Arthuri burgum* [Arthurs-borough], which seems to imply that it had been a considerable village. Some affirm, its name from Arthur, king of the Britons, who was in this country, about the year 550, pursuing his victories over the Danes and Norwegians, [r. the Saxons, the “Danes and Norwegians” did not arrive in Britain for three centuries after the death of Arthur]”.*

Two old ballads, upon the subject of king Arthur, printed in bishop Percys *Reliques of ancient English poetry*, suppose his residence at Carlisle; and one of them, in particular, says,

“At Tearne-Wadling his castle stands.”

Thus, likewise, in an ancient Scottish metrical romance, of great merit,

“In the tyme of Arthur an aunter bytydde,
By the Turne-Wathelan, as the boke telles,
When he to Carlele and conquerour kydde, &c.”

“Tearne-Wadling,” according to the ingenious editor of the above-mentioned *Reliques*, and which, as he observes, is evidently the Turne Wathelan of the Scottish poem), “is the name

* *History of Cumberland*, p. 454.

of a small lake near Hesketh in Cumberland, on the road from Penrith to Carlisle. There is a tradition," he adds, "that an old castle once stood near the lake, the remains of which were not long since visible:" Tearn or Tarn, in the dialect of that country, being still in use for a lake. The tradition is, that either the castle or a great city was swallowed up by the lake (which is now called Armanthwaite, from an estate it adjoins and belongs to, and may be still seen, under favourable circumstances, at its bottom.

Walter de Percy, by a charter, in the time of Richard the first, confirms, amongst other tenements, to Roger de Bagot, all the land, which he had under the way that led to Werverton, which was called "*Arthurs buttes*," in the territory of Crathorne, in Cleveland.*

To the east of Guisbrough, in Yorkshire, within sight from the road to Whitby, stands

"Freebro's huge mount, immortal *Arthurs tomb*.†"

The memory of this illustrious monarch, on account of his heroick actions and celebrated

* Original charter in the archives of Thomas Crathorne, of Crathorne, esquire.

† *Cleveland-prospect*, by John Hall Stevenson, esquire, author of "*The crazy tales*," and several other poems of humour and excellence.

name, received distinguished honour, in being placed in the heavens, as a constellation of himself, and his war-chariot, amongst the stars. This appears from an ancient poem of the seventh century, composed by Aldhelm, abbot of Malmesbury, afterward, bishop of Sherborne, who died on the 25th of May, in the year 709, and obtained the dignity of sainthood, being canonised, it is presumed, by the bishop of Rome. The verses are :

DE ARTURO.

*Sydereis stipor turmis in vertice mundi,
Esseda famoso gesto cognomine vulgi,
In gyro volvens iugiter non vergo deorsum,
Cetera ceu properant cælorum lumina ponto.
Hoc ' dono ditor quoniam ' sum proximus axi.
' Ryphæis Scytia qui latis ' montibus errat,
Vergilias æquans numeris in arce polorum ;
Cui pars inferior stygia letheaque palude
Fertur ' inferni ' fundo succumbere nigro,**

(Of Arthur.

With starry troops I am environed, in the pole of the world ;
I bear a war-chariot with a famous surname of the vulgar,
Rolling in a circle, continually, I do not decline downward,
As the other luminaries of the heavens hasten to the sea.

* *S. Aldhelmi Poetica nonnulla . . . Moguntia, 1601, 12mo.*
(p. 63.)

I am enrich'd with this gift, forasmuch as I am next to the pole.
 He who wanders in the Ryphaean mountains of Scythia,
 Equaling, in numbers, the Seven-stars, in the top of the poles ;
 Whose lower part, in the stygian and lethean marsh,
 Is reported to fall down in the black bottom of hell.)

In Scotland, near Falkirk, hard by the Carron, was, anciently, a Roman building, of a round form, demolished by the Gothic owner of the ground on which it stood, one named Sir Michael Bruce, to repair a mill, which relic of antiquity bore the name of *Arthurs-hof*, or *Arthurs-oon* (or oven.) As a just judgment upon this sacrilegious act, the above mill was, soon after, swept away by the river. It is remarkable that Gawin Douglas, bishop of Dunkeld, a noted poet, has described this erection in the milky way :

“ Of every sterne the twynkling notis he,
 That in the stil hevin move cours we se,
 ARTHURYS-HUFE and Hyades, betaiknyng rane,
 Syne Watling-strete, the Horne and the Charle-wane.”*

It is as little known that ARTHURS-PLOUGH has likewise obtained immortality, by an ever-

* *The third booke of Eneados*, p. 85, Ralph Thoresby says, “ Churl-wel is from *ceopl*, *Agricola*, and *Charles-wain*, the *ceoply* or countryman's wain, is from the same original.” (*Topography of Leeds*, 1715, folio, p. 268.)

lasting situation in the celestial sphere : for this interesting piece of information we are indebted to dan John Lydgate, monk of Bury, who takes occasion to observe :

“ But to shypmen that be discrete and wyse,
That lyste their course prudently devyse,
Upon the sea have suffysaunce ynoughe,
To gye their passage by ARTHOURYS-PLOUGHE.”*

* *Troye-boke*, C. 3. If one may believe William Owen, elsewhere alluded to, ARTHURS-HARP is “ the British appellation for the constellation *Lyra*.”

CHAP. XXIII.

Of the discovery, after many centuries, of the remains of king Arthur and his queen.

A PARTICULAR relation of the discovery of the bodies or bones of this monarch and his queen, between six and seven hundred years after the supposed and probable time of their deaths,* hath been, with due elaboration and prolixity, brought forth, by his countryman, Girald Barry, otherwise *Giraldus Cambrensis*,† who died bishop of *Menevia* or Saint-Davids, in 1229, which, however, it will not seem impertinent to give, at length, from his own Latin, as follows :

“ The memory of Arthur, the famous king of the Britons, is not to be suppressed, forasmuch, as of the excellent monastery of Glastonbury, of which he, also, was the patron, he had been, in

* There is no certainty in the date of this event : nor can any credit be given to Geoffrey of Monmouth, or any of his followers.

† Leland gives him the name of *Sylvester Giraldus*, in which he is followed by Camden and bishop Godwin ; for what reason or upon what authority cannot be ascertained.

his days, a principal benefactor and magnificent benefactor. Histories much extol him : for, before all the churches of his realm, he most loved, and, before the rest, with far greater devotion promoted, the church of the holy mother of God, Mary, of Glastonbury : whence, when the warlike man was alive, in the fore part of his shield, he had caused to be painted the image of the blessed virgin ; that, internally, he might, always have her, in the contest, before his eyes ; whose feet, also, when he was, in the moment of engagement, he had accustomed to kiss with the greatest devotion.* His body, however, which, as fantastic, in the end, and, as it were, by a spirit, translated to a great distance, neither to death obnoxious, fables have been feigned. In these our days, at Glastonbury, between two pyramidal stones, formerly erected in the sacred burying-ground, hid very deep in the earth, in a hollow oak, and marked with wonderful, and, as

* This puff preliminary, in which there is not a word of truth, he had either amplified from some interpolated copy of Nennius or Geoffrey of Monmouth, or from some legend in the abbey, or been paid for fabricating. He was no more than an occasional visitor, though, by his relationship to the king, and his connections at court, he might have had an eye upon it himself, and this rigmarole stuff been calculated to cajole the monks.

it were, miraculous tokens, was found,* and, into the church, with honour, translated, and to a marble tomb decently commended : whence, also, a leaden cross, a stone being put under it, not infixed on the upper part, as it is wont, ought to be, rather, in the lower part, which we, also, have seen, for we have handled [it], contained these letters, and not rising up and standing out, but more within, turned to the stone : HIC JACET SEPULTUS INCLITUS REX ARTHURUS CUM WENNEVEREIA UXORE SUA SECUNDA IN INSULA AVALONIA.† Here, however, occurred very many noble things, for he had had two wives, of whom the last had her interment at the same time

* Matthew Paris says, “ In the same year [1191], were found, at Glastonbury, the bones of the most famous king of Britain, Arthur, hid in a certain most ancient stone coffin, about which two most ancient pyramids stood erected, in which were letters defaced : but on account of too much barbarism and deformity, they could, in no wise be read. Now they were found on this occasion : for while they dug there, that they might inter a certain monk, who this place of sepulchre, with vehement desire, in his life, had wished ; they found a certain stone-coffin, to which a leaden cross had been put over, in which was defaced, HIC JACET INCLYTUS BRITONUM REX ARTHURUS, IN INSULA AVALONIS SEPULTUS (P. 138.) This coffin, Leland observes, he never heard of, and did not believe.

† *Guennimar*, Guenever, Winifred : (see Lhuyds *Archæologia*, p. 225, Co. 2 :) “ *Bychedh Guenvreui : I'ta Sanctæ Wi-*

with himself, and her bones were found, at the same time, along with those of her husband, so distinct, nevertheless, that two parts of the sepulchre, toward the head, had been deputed to contain the bones of the man; the third, also, toward the feet, were to contain the bones of the woman apart: where, also, a yellow lock of the woman's hair was found, with its original entirety and colour; which, a certain monk greedily snatched with his hand, and being lifted up, the whole immediately fell into dust.* When, however, some tokens of the body there found, from his writings, some, from the letters impressed on the pyramifredae." Leland remarks, that Silvester (as he calls him) here added something to the inscription of his own head (*Collectanea*, II, 12); meaning the words "*cum Wenneveria uxore sua secunda*;" which will be more full explained hereafter.

Usher (in his *Index chronologicus*, at the year Dxlⁱⁱ) says, "That she may appear to be called *second*, in respect of another *Guenever*, married, by Arthur, in the very beginning of his reign; whom, by Melvas, king of Somerset, ravished at the year 509, from Carádóc of Llancarvan, we have observed." Carádóc, however, gives no such date, nor had Usher any, the slightest, authority for it, but his own fancy: there not being one single date throughout the *Vita Gilde*.

* He has something more upon the shameful violence of this monk; but the manuscript is too much burned to permit one to make out the whole: it is entirely omitted by sir John Prise, though it was then entire.

mids, although very much destroyed by too great antiquity, some, likewise, through visions and revelations, made to good and religious men, chiefly, nevertheless, and most evidently, the king of England, Henry the second, as he had heard it from an ancient historical singer, a Briton,* intimated the whole to the monks, that

* “ Henry, no small part of an army being raised, came into Wales to levy the rest, and thence to sail from Saint-Davids into Ireland, with the hope of obtaining which he wholly burned. While he acted these things, being, on account of his dignity, entertained by the kinglets of Wales in feasts, he heard bards singing in concert to the harp not without pleasure, using an interpreter. There was one, truly, among the rest, the most learned in the knowledge of antiquity. He, the praises and famous actions of Arthur being performed, comparing with him Henry as a future conqueror, with many names, so sung, that the king's ears were wonderfully both tickled and delighted : in which time, also the king chiefly learned this from the bard, that Arthur had been buried at Avalon, in the sacred cemetery : whence, the bard being munificently dismissed, for the indication of so great a monument, required of Henry of Blois or of Soilli, his nephew, who then, OR A LITTLE AFTER, from abbot of Bermondsey, was elected perfect to the island of Glastonbury, that he with the most exquisite diligence, would narrowly search for the sepulchre in the inclosure of the sacred cemetery. It was several times tried, and, at length, with great difficulty found.” (*Leland's Assertio Arturii. Collectanea*, V, 49.) This interview of king Henry the Second and the bard at a feast in Wales, seems to have been worked up by Leland himself ; as Girald Barry

very deep, to wit, in the earth, for sixteen feet at the least, they would find the body, and not in a monument of stone, but in a hollowed oak ; and, therefore, the body had been so deeply placed, and, as it were hid, that it might, in no wise, be found by the Saxons, occupying his island, after his death, whom, by so great a labour, being alive, he had conquered, and, almost wholly destroyed ; and, for this reason, also, letters, the indexes of truth, impressed with certain things, were turned inwardly to the stone, that, at that time, also, those things which it contained, it might hide, and sometimes hide, and sometimes, too, in place and time, divulge. That, however, which is now called Glastonbury, was anciently called the Isle of Avalon : for, the whole island, as it were, is beset with marshes : whence, it is called in British, *enis*

only says, that “ king Henry the second, as he had heard from a historical singer, an ancient Briton ” (*Ibi.* II, 10) ; and all his authority for it appears to be an anonymous monk of Glastonbury : “ William of Malmesbury,” he says, “ would have come forward, as the third witness, unless death had taken him away [47 years, that is,] before the discovery of the sepulchre.” Henry had not been in Wales since 1169, and Arthurs bones were not discovered until 1191 or 1192, whereas he died on the 6th of June 1189 ; and Henry de Sayle was not abbot till the 29th of September in that year.

Avallon, that is the apple-bearing island, for, with apples, which, in the British tongue, are called *aval*, that place formerly abounded : whence, also, *Morganis*, a noble matron, and governess, and patroness of those parts, and, also, near in blood to king Arthur, after the battle of Kemelen [Camblan], carried Arthur, to be cured of his wounds, into the island which is now called Glastonbury.* It had, likewise, been formerly called, in British, *enis gutrin*, the glassy island, from which word, the Saxons, afterward coming, called that place Glastonbury : for, *glas*, in their tongue, means *glass*, and *huri* is called a castle or city. It is to be known, also, that the discovered bones of Arthur were

* Geoffrey of Monmouth, in his British history, mentions nothing of Morgan, (who, in other romances of Arthur, is that monarchs half-sister, and a powerful fairy), and only says, " But, that famous king Arthur was mortally wounded who thence, to be cured of his wounds, was carried into the Isle of Avallon" (B. 11, c. 21), without explaining that name to mean *Glastonbury*, which never once appears, by that name, throughout his book ; and, in his metrical life of Merlin the Caledonian, places it in a distant part of the globe, whither, also, Arthur is conveyed in a boat or ship, and where Morgan, skilful in surgery, is the eldest of the kings nine daughters. He forgot the proverb.

so large that, also, the saying of the poet might appear to be fulfilled in these things :

“ *Grandiaque effossis mirabitur ossa sepulchris.*”*

For, his thigh-bone being put by that of the tallest man of the place, whom, also, the abbot shewed to us, and fixed to the earth close by the foot of that man, it reached full three fingers beyond his knee. The bone, also, of his head, as if it were capacious and thick, to a prodigy or shew ; so that between the hair of the eye-lids, and between the eyes, the space would fully contain a hand-breadth. There appeared in it, however, ten wounds or more, all which, except one greater than the rest, which had made a large gap, and which alone seemed to have been mortal, had come together into a solid cicatrice.†

* *Virgilii Georgicon*, L. 1, V. 497.

† *Book of the instruction of a prince* (Julius, B. XIII, Distinction, chap. 20); and Leland's *Collectanea*, II, 11. Sir John Prise has given a similar extract from a different work of Girald, usually called *Liber distinctionum* (no other title occurring), and not the *Speculum ecclesie*, as it is sometimes improperly called, that being an entirely different work, and not by Girald ; both extant in the Cotton MS. Tiberius, B. XIII. It begins, as Prise has it: “ *Porro quoniam*, &c.” but reads, “ *fabule confingi*,” not *fabulose* ; and (P. 131) “ *Morgani*,” not *Morgain le faye*, a puerile interpolation. The title of that chapter is “ *De sepulcro regis Arthuri ossa ejus continente apud*

With respect to the circumstance of Arthurs second wife, the Welsh antiquaries pretend that he had no less than three wives, every one

Glastoniam in nostris diebus invento et plurimis circiter hec notabilibus occasionaliter adjunctis :" that of chap. 10 : "*Quod rex Arthurus precipuus Glastoni . .*" The manuscript has been much injured, by the fire of 1731, and is partly illegible : but there does not appear, in Prise, any additional circumstance to the narrative already given : he first states the passage beginning, "*Regnante nostris, &c.*" (p. 130.) *Porro, &c.* Now, it being very certain that Henry *de Saliaco, de Sayle, or de Soilli*, likewise, called Henry Sully or Swansey, was not abbot before Michaelmas, 1189, being the first year of Richard the first, he could not, therefore, possibly, have assisted at the disinterment of Arthur, in the presence or, even in the reign of Henry the second (see Willis's *Mitred abbeyes*, I, 103). An extract by Leland, from a paper he met with in the library of Glastonbury-abbey, says, "The bones of Arthur were raised from the sacred cemetery, in the year 1189, by Henry Sully, abbot of Glastonbury (*Collectanea*, III, 154): which, by no means, removes the difficulty. In other extracts, this discovery is dated 1191 (I, 264, 280, V. 54), and 1192 (244). See, also, Adam de Domerham, p. 341, and John of Glastonbury, p. 182. Randal Higden says, that the body was found under the year 1180 (*Collectanea*, II, 372): and David Powel, in his interpolated and vitiated edition of Carâdocs Annals, (1585, 4to. b. l. p. 238) says, "This yeare [1179] the bones of noble Arthur, and Gwenhouar his wife, were found in the Isle of Avalon." At any rate, the discovery, if made in the presence of Henry the second, could not be in the time of Henry *de Soilly*, or if made by Henry *de Soilly*, could not be in the presence of Henry the second.

named *Gwenhwyfar*; "the first, the daughter of Gwryd Gwent, cauled, by som, *Corytus*; the second, the daughter of Uthyr ap Gredawgol, cauled, by som, *Crediolus*; and the third, the daughter of a giant, cauled Gogfran Gawr;" and that the Wenever or Guenever, whose bones were discovered along with his own, and whose name occurred in his epitaph "was not his last wife:"* so that he appears to have had one after he was dead. To prove, however, the singular consistency of these infallible Cambrians, it appears, from their favourite "*Trioeh*," *Triades* or *Triads*, that these three *Gwennhuyvars* were not the wives of Arthur, but "Three prime damsels" residing at his court; and that his "three wives or mistresses, were Judee, daughter to Arvy the tall, and Garvy White-hams, daughter to old Henin, and Guyl, daughter to Endaut."†

Leland, mentioning the two chapters of Girald, concerning Arthur, in what he mistakenly calls his book *De speculo ecclesie*, adds, that he had, in another book, read the same translation to have been made in the beginning of the reign of Richard [1191]. Neither, he observes, does Girald there affirm that he was present at the

* Lewis, p. 185, 196; Prise, 134.

† Harley manuscripts, Num. 4181.

translation of the remains, but that Henry, the abbot, shewed him the cross, with the bones, found a short time before, in the sepulchre of Arthur; and reports this inscription of the cross: "*Hic jacet sepultus inclytus rex Arturius in insula Avalloniæ cum WENNERIA UXORE SUA SECUNDA;*" whereas, says he, in the cross, which they now shew (and which he had himself seen), THERE IS NO MENTION OF HIS WIFE. They erected, as he elsewhere tells us, a leaden cross about a foot long, which, also, he says, I have contemplated with most curious eyes, containing, in Roman capitals, rudely engraved, the following words: "HIC JACET SEPULTUS INCLYTUS REX ARTURIUS IN INSULA AVALONIA."*

* *Collectanea*, V, 45. This is the cross of which Camden has given the figure, and fac-simile inscription, imposing it, either by design or ignorance, upon his readers, as the one mentioned by Giraldus; which he could not but have known, when he read and transcribed either that original writer, or Leland, or sir John Prise, WAS NOT THE FACT: he has, indeed, now and then, the cullibility of honest Leland, and expresses or implies his belief in Joseph of Arimathea, Arthur, Guy, Bevis, and so forth, the heroes and creatures of romance, for whose existence he knew he could cite no authority, of which, at least, he would not have been ashamed. Matthew Paris, in the third place, gives it thus: "HIC JACET INCLYTUS BRITONUM REX ARTURIUS IN INSULA AVALONIA SEPULTUS:" so that the epitaph of Arthur has nearly as many

There is nothing wonderful in the circumstance of this worthy and industrious antiquary, becoming a complete dupe to this imposture, when not less than three of the greatest monarchs that ever tyrannised in any part of Britain, were, to use a vulgar phrase, completely taken in: "Henry the second, king of England," as Leland observes, "in the grant of his donation, in which he subscribes to the ancient privileges of the monastery of Glastonbury, plainly affirms himself to have seen the donation of Arthur:"* which the no less pious than dexterous monks of the blessed mother of god, had, indisputably, forged, as they did the legend of Joseph of Arimathea, their pretended original founder, the charter of saint Patrick, the life of that saint by William of Malmesbury, whom they made to write, "Of the antiquity of the church of Glastonbury," not less than fifty years after his death, the history of Melkin, and other legendary rhodomontades, with which their precious archives abounded. King Richard the first, having, upon his visit to

various readings as that of Jesus Christ. Leland, at the same time, laments that one whose authority he, deservedly, very much favoured, should have added some redundant words of his own to the epitaph in the inscription: meaning, in fact, the aforesaid Matthew Paris.

* *Collectanea*, V, 6, 32, 33, 34.

Glastonbury, to behold the resurrection of the royal bones, as it is presumed, been presented with the best sword of the noble Arthur, christened by his prelatical historian, *Caliburn*, transferred it, as the most valuable relick in the world, to Tancred, king of Sicily.* They even produced his great seal, in wax, of an age anterior, by five centuries, to the use of seals in Britain, with the following pompous inscription: PATRICIUS ARTURIUS BRITANNIÆ GALLIÆ GERMANIÆ DACIÆ imperator :'' which, having somehow or other found its way to Westminster, Leland, if not our best, at least, our most ancient, antiquary, who had met with a reference to its situation in Caxtons chronicle, and the simplicity of whose honest narrative can, scarcely, be now, by his most profound admirer, perused without a smile, went down to the abbey on purpose to examine it, and has given a very minute, and, doubtless, very accurate, description of this singular curiosity.

* *Chro. J. Bromton*, Co. 1195.

CHAP. XXIV.

Of Gildas.

GILDAS (who was probably contemporary with Arthur in the former part of his life, being born on the day of the battle of Badon, and who, apparently, wrote at an advanced age) represents the Britons, of his own time, as “a parcel of cowards and rascals, who gave their backs for shields, their necks to swords (a cold fear running through their bones), and held up their hands, to be bound, in the manner of a woman: so that it was carried out, far and wide, into a proverb, and derision, that the Britons were neither brave in war, nor faithful in peace.”* In another place, he says, “that, on account of the rapine and avarice of the princes, on account of the iniquity and injustice of the judges, on account of the idleness and sloth of preaching of the bishops, on account of the luxury and evil manners of the people, they lost their country.”†

* C. 4, (Josselins edition, p. 86.)

† Lelands *Collectanea*, I, 399; Ushers *Antiquitates*, 289. This passage, extracted from an epistle of *Alcuinus Albinus*

“ Britain,” he exclaims, “ has kings, but tyrants ; has judges, but, unjust ; often plundering and shaking, but the innocent ; vindicating and patronising, but criminals and robbers ; having many wives, but harlots and adulteresses ; often swearing, but perjuring themselves ; vowing, also, continually, but nearly lying ; making war, but making civil and unjust wars ; through the country greatly following thieves, and those who sit with them at table, not only loving, but, also rewarding ; giving alms largely, but heaping up out of the country an immense mountain of crimes ; sitting on the bench to decide, but, rarely, enquiring the rule of right justice ; the harmless and humble despising ; the blood-thirsty, the proud, parricides, soldiers and adulterers, enemies of god, if their lot, as it is said, he will take away (who with his very name were

(Alcuin, a Saxon) *Opera*, Paris, 1617, co. 1535 and 1668), does not occur in the printed copies ; either, therefore, it must be the sense of Gildas in the phraseology of Alcuin, or the present text is defective. Leland, however, elsewhere observes, “ It appears, from many places in this distinction [the first, that is, of bishop Barrys book, intitled *De institutione principis*] Girald not to have used any other copy of Gildas, than that which is now publicly read” (*Collectanea*, II, 10.) The genuine words of Gildas, therefore, seem to occur in the next sentence.

earnestly to be destroyed), extolling, as they are able, to the stars ; having many bound in prisons, whom, by their own fraud, rather than demerit, they squeeze, loading them with chains : remaining swearing among the altars, and these same things, as if vile stones, a little after despising."*

* Josselins edition, p. 24. One would imagine, that Gildas, like Merlin, had possessed an incubus of prophecy, and was describing, if the same country, at least, a very different people. He died in 570.

CHAP. XXV.

Of Nennius and Samuel.

NENNIVS, a Briton, was the disciple of saint Elbod,* and flourished (as the phrase is) in the year 858, and in the twenty-fourth year of Merwin, king of the Britons.† He seems, at first, to have called his book “*Eulogium Britannie*,”‡ afterward “*Historia* [or “*Gesta*”] *Britonum* : which

* See Bertrams edition, p. 93, 95, 143. That Nennius was a monk of the monastery of Bangor is a mistake of Gale, continued, with equal folly, by Bertram. “*Elbodius* [bishop of Llandaff], and archbishop of North-Wales [died in the year 809] ; before whose death, the sun was sore eclipsed.” (*History of Cambria*, p. 20.) This monastery was destroyed long before 858.

† *Ibi*, p. 94, 104. Whitaker, in his “*History of Manchester*,” (II, 40, 4to. edition), asserts, that “Nennius is really, prior to Gildas, the former having written about 550, and the latter about 564 : the time of Gildas is well enough hit upon ; but that of Nennius, is a blunder, and not the only one in his fabulous history.

‡ No ancient manuscript has æ, but, always, e ; and such a circumstance would [be] a certain criterion of forgery. The English, uniformly, make use of the æ, but the earliest Roman manuscripts never have that diphthong ; but, universally, æ.

he tells us in his preface, that “ partly from the traditions of the greater [men], partly written, partly, even, from the monuments of the old inhabitants of Britain, partly, also, from the chronicles of the holy fathers, that is to say, Jerome, Prosper, Eusebius, and also, from the history of the Scots [Irish] and Saxons, although our enemies, not as I willed but as I was able, complying with the commands of my elders, this little history, from what place soever collected, I have accumulated by saying something to no purpose.”

This book, however, considering its antiquity, might have been held in great esteem, though, as books were at that time, it abounds with tradition and fable: and, what is very strange, half of the manuscripts, it is believed, are attributed to Gildas, and many are anonymous: William of Malmesbury appears, from a few extracts, to have had a copy, but did not know the name of the author: Henry, archdeacon of Huntingdon, had another copy, which would seem to have been imputed to Gildas, whom he names. It, unfortunately, fell into the hands of one Samuel,* a Briton, and disciple to *Beularius*, a priest, who,

* Bale calls this man “ *Samuel Beulanius*,” and archbishop Usher, after him, with equal ignorance, “ *Samuel Benlan*.” (p. 206).

either, interpolated and polluted the text, or, merely, according to the practice of that period, acted the part of a scholiast, by filling the margin, as Eustathius served Homer, and Servius, Virgil, &c. with *scholia* or glosses; which, falling into still worse hands, were inserted, from time to time in the text, so that a genuine copy of Nennius, as originally written, would be difficult to meet with.

In the year 613 (according to Bede, or 607, upon the authority of the Saxon chronicle), the most brave Aedilfrid [Æþelfrīð], king of the Engles [then pagans], a great army being collected, gave, at the city of Legions (which was called, by the Engles, Legacaestir [Leḡaceaſtpe], by the Britons, however, more rightly *Carlegion* [now Chester], a very great slaughter of that perfidious people: and when, the battle being about to be done, he saw their priests, who had assembled to pray god for the soldier managing the battle, to stand apart in a safer place, he enquired who these were, and what they had assembled in that place about to do. Now a great many of them were from the monastery of Bangor,* in which so great a number of

* "Twelve miles from Chester" (Lelands *Collectanea*, II, 601).

monks is reported to have been, that when the monastery was divided into seven parts, with the rulers set over them, no portion of these had less than three hundred men, who all were accustomed to live by the labour of their own hands. Of these, therefore, a great many, at the recounted battle, a three-days-fast being accomplished, had assembled, with others, for the sake of praying, having a defender, named Brocmail, who should protect them, intent to their prayers, from the swords of the barbarians. When king Aedilfrid had understood the reason of their coming, he said : " If, therefore, they cry to their god against us, and, certainly, they themselves, although they do not bear arms, fight against us, who are persecuted by their imprecations adverse to us : " he, therefore, ordered, in the first place, the arms to be turned upon them, and so destroyed the other forces of that abominable militia, not without great loss of his own army. They report, about two thousand men, of those who had come to pray, to have been extinct in that battle, and only fifty to be fallen in flight. Brocmail, turning, with his soldiers, their backs, at the first coming of the enemy, left those whom he ought to have defended, unarmed, and exposed to the smiting swords.*

* Bede, B. 2, C. 2.

Tanner, from whatever authority, in his note on Leland's life of Nennius, says, "he got away from this slaughter, at Chester, and travelled over Wales, and the neighbouring islands of the Scots [Irish], that he might propagate and confirm the christian religion." The Nennius, however, he is speaking of, wrote in 858; the battle of Chester happened in 607, a difference of upwards of 250 years!

Leland, who had called this historian "an uncertain author," not knowing the work, at any rate, to be that of Nennius. In a note, however, he speaks of "Ninnius or Nennius, a Briton, the disciple of Elbod, the author of the chronicle, whereof Thomas Sulmo made him a copy: for he had an exemplar, not mutilated and without a preface, [a sufficient proof, however, that it was actually mutilated], as," he says, "mine was."* He, afterward, "From the annotations, which were inscribed in the margin of the ancient book of *Nennius*, which," says he, "I borrowed of Thomas Sulmo;" and, after a few extracts, adds: "So I have found, that to thee, Samuel, that is, infant of my master Beulan, in this page I have written. From these words, the conjecture is, for Samuel to have been author of the annotations, which were in the margin of *Nennius*."

* *Collectanea*, II, 45.

He says of him : “ He writes confusedly, and without judgement, also with filthy words, not doubting him to insert fables, any more than old wives.” In the margin he adds : “ Mention is made of a certain *Nennius*, in the life of saint Finnan.”* This, however, could not, possibly, be *Nennius*, the historian, who wrote, as already said, in 858, and was not a monk of Bangor, but one of the same name, who was a monk thereof, and would seem, from Tanner, to have escaped from the battle of Chester, in 607. As to the three Irish saints, named Finan, they all appear to have died in the sixth century ; as the Scottish ones did in the seventh. Gale inserts the marginal annotations of Samuel (which, in the best, if not all, the manuscripts, are in the margin), between crotchets in the text ; Bertram, who published his edition at Copenhagen, never saw the manuscripts, but relies upon Gale ; only he distinguishes the interpolations, sometimes, as well by crotchets, as italics, and inverted commas, and sometimes, with inverted commas alone : which deforms his book, at least, if it shews no want of judgement, as the marginal annotations, usually attributed to Samuel, are, frequently, by others, and should either have been inserted in notes, under the

* *Collectanea*, II. 47.

text, or, after the text, or by way of appendix. From the 60th chapter, (at the end of which are these words, "*Hic expliciunt à Nennio [duo, corruptè, Gilda sapiente composita] conscripta*"), he marks all the remaining chapters (including Arthurs battles), with inverted commas, as some passages are, likewise, between crotchets, and in italics. It appears, from William of Malmesbury, that the nameless copy he had, contained the battle of the Badonick mount, "*fretus imagine dominicæ matris, quam armis suis insuerat, &c.*" but these words are not in Bertrams edition, nor the story, under the battle of Badon. Henry of Huntingdons extracts (from "Gildas the historiographer") are much more considerable and more consonant to the manuscripts, than those of William of Malmesbury; but neither the monk nor the archdeacon notices Arthurs fabulous [journey] to Jerusalem; so that, if any new manuscript of *Nennius* be ever found, that absurd story will not be there to pollute it. It is said, by the Welsh editors of "The Myvyrian archaiology of Wales" (II, vii): "There is a copy of *Nennius*, in the Vatican-library, the oldest that is known, undoubtedly, written in the beginning of the tenth century, which contains the story of Brute." These Myvyrian archaiologists seem to suppose, "the

‘unfounded’ story of Brute to be the criterion of the most ancient and perfect copy of *Nennius*: although there is not a single copy, ancient or modern, manuscript or printed, Gale or Bertram, wherein “the story of Brute” does not occur: a manifest proof that they have never perused nor ever seen a copy of *Nennius*, as it stands staring every one in the face, who can either read or see, in the second and third chapters, and in the genuine words of the original author: “*Britannia insula à quodam BRUTO vocatur,*” (C. 2): “*Et sic venit ut in nativitate illius mulier est mortua et nutritus est filius vocatumque est nomen ejus BRUTO,*” (C. 3). A Welshman, however, who wanted “the story of Brute,” would, naturally, have recourse to the British history of Geoffrey of Monmouth: the pink of veracity! William Owen, in his “Cambrian Biography,” asserts that *Nennius*, an historian, flourished toward “the close of the eighth century,” but is the year 858, in which *Nennius*, with his own hand, records himself to have finished his book, in “the close of the eighth century?” “Like Gildas and Tysilio,” he adds, “he edited a breviary of the history of Britain, [which was, certainly, done by neither Gildas nor Tysilio] . . . and the same subject was continued by *Marcus*, whose original copy is in the

Vatican-library. A very valuable edition," he says, "with a commentary, is now preparing for the press, by the reverend William Gunn, [of Norwich], which will clear up and rectify the obscurities and errors in the editions by Gale and Bertram:" this, indeed, we shall be glad to see; but, it is to be hoped, that this reverend editor is not a Welshman.

CHAP. XXVI.

Of the translation of the bones of king Arthur and his queen, by king Edward the first and queen Eleanor.

IN the year of the lord, 1276, king Edward, son of Henry the third, came with his queen to Glastonbury. In the tuesday, truly, next following, the king, and all his court were entertained at the expence of the monastery: in which day, in the twilight of the evening, he caused the sepulchre of the famous king Arthur to be opened, where, in two chests, their images and arms being painted, he found the separate bones of the said king of wonderful magnitude. The crowned image, truly, of the queen. The crown of the kings image was prostrate, with the abscision of the left ear, and with the vestiges of the wound of which he died. A manifest writing was found upon each. In the morrow, that is to say, on wednesday, the king the bones of the king, the queen the bones of the queen, being rolled in [two] several precious palls, shutting up again in their chests, and putting on

their seals, commanded the same sepulchre to be, quickly, placed before the high altar, the heads of both being retained without, on account of the devotion of the people, a writing of this kind having been put within: "These are the bones of the most noble king Arthur, which in the year of the incarnation of the lord 1278, in the 13th kalends of May [19th of April], by the lord Edward, the illustrious king of England, were here so placed: Eleanor, the most serene consort of the same king, and daughter of the lord Ferrand, king of Spain, master William de Middleton, then elect of Norwich, master Thomas de Becke, archdeacon of Dorset, and treasurer of the aforesaid king, the lord Henry de Lascy, earl of Lincoln, the lord Amadé, earl of Savoy, and many great men of England, being present.*

* Lelands *Collectanea*, V. 55, from a monk of Glastonbury. Leland, on his visit to Glastonbury-abbey, seems to have found two other epitaphs of Arthur and his wife, which being among his papers, have been inserted in the *Collectanea*, III, 18, and are as follows:

"*Epitaphium Arthuri.*"

"*Hic jacet Arturus, flos regum, gloria regni,
Quem mores probitas commendant laude perenni.*"

"*Versus Henrici Swansey, abbatis Glaston.*"

"*Inferius ad pedem ejusdem.*"

"*Arturi jacet hic conjux tumultata secunda,
Quæ meruit caelos, virtutum prole fecunda.*"

“ King Edward, in 1289, being at Caernarvon [in Wales], the crown of Arthur, with other jewels, was rendered to him.”*

* *Lelands Coll.* 346, 404.

CHAP. XXVII.

Of the Abbey of Glastonbury.

THERE was, certainly (if one may believe Carádoc of Llancarvan, in his life of saint Gildas), a monastery at Glastonbury, of British institution and inhabited by an abbot and monks, in the sixth century : but it is, equally, certain that no English historian has given the least account of it or been, in any wise, acquainted with it. Saint Dunstan and the Saxon abbots and monks, who came thither in the tenth century, not knowing any thing of the establishment of former times nor having any authentic chronicles, had recourse to the forgery and fabrication of lying legends, of James the son of Zebedee, Simon Zelota, Simon Peter and saint Paul : *Aristobulus*, *Claudia-Rufina*, the twelve disciples of Philip, Joseph of Arimathea, *Taurinus*, *Eutropius*, Timothy, *Novatus*, *Praxed*, *Prudentia*, *Lucius*, *Fagan*, *Duvian*, Aaron, saint Patrick and many more such nonentities : all forgery and falsehood, greedily, swallowed and vomited up by archbishop Usher and other pretended antiquaries, to the

pollution of true history and the everlasting disgrace of English literature. Glastonbury, according to William of Malmesbury (who appears to have known nothing of its ancient British church,) "was a town [in Somersetshire] placed in a certain marshy recess, which, nevertheless, might be approached both by horse and foot." "There," he says, "in the first place, king Ina,* by the advice of the most blessed Aldhelm, built a monastery, having bestowed thereon many manors and which at 'that' day [1142] are

* This Ina, Inas or Ini, as appears from Bede's ecclesiastical history and the Saxon chronicle succeeded Ceadwal, king of the West Saxons, in the year 688 and, after a reign of 37 years, went to Rome (as Ceadwal had done before), in 725 and there lived till the day of his death. According to the latter authority, he built that monastery at Glastonbury; of which, however, Bede says nothing nor, even, once notices that place throughout [his] history, though living at the time and very attentive to ecclesiastical matters. Aldhelm, abbot of Malmesbury and, afterward, bishop of Sherborne, died in 709, William of Malmesbury writing his life, in which, he says, that, "Alfred commemorates a trivial song, which is hitherto sung by the common people, to have been made by Aldhelm." He, likewise, mentions Arcivil, son of the king of Scotland [r. Ireland: there was no other Scotland at that time] and says, "He procured whatsoever [he could] of the literary art, but was so far hungry, that he committed himself to the judgement of Aldhelm: that, by the file of perfect wit, his Scottish [r. Irish] scabbiness might be scraped." Aldhelm wrote a letter, in 680, to Gerunt, king of the Cornish-Britons, concerning the tonsure.

named and, truly, in the various vicissitudes of the times, but the successions [and] assemblies of monks, not failing, the place shone until the arrival of the Danes, under king Alfred [868]. Then, truly, as the rest, being desolated for some years, it wanted its usual inhabitants. Moreover, whatsoever the fury of wars had destroyed, Dunstan [abbot, 942],* who had, before, being a monk of that place, led there a solitary life, excellently, repaired. Afterward, truly, by the liberality of king Edmund [941-946], all former appendages and, with these, having obtained, many more, he built an abbey: such as no where in England was or would be.† So much was the extent and convenience of the foundations, so much the fairness and antiquity of the books, abound. Patrick," he says, "lies there (if the thing were worthy to believe), by nation a Briton, a disciple of the blessed German, bishop of Auxerre, whom, being, by pope Cælestin, ordained a bishop, he sent apostle to the Irish: who, for many years, doing his labour in the conversion of that nation, the grace of god co-operating was, somewhat, advanced; at length,

* *Simeon Dunelmensis, sub anno.*

† "Glastonbury," which his [Edgars] father [Edmund] he himself perfected." (Ethelred, *Of the genealogy of the kings, Decem scriptores*, co. 359.)

being admonished by the irksomeness of a peregrination full of years, at once, also, by a near old age, thinking to return into his own country, he there closed his day."* This story of saint Patrick, (whose history is, sufficiently, credible so far as it relates to Ireland) is, manifestly, false; since, from every Irish life of this saint and, even, by his own "Confession," he neither was, ever, abbot of Glastonbury, as the legends of that monastery assert, or, even, in any part of Britain, from the time of his being carried off, when not quite sixteen, from the western part of Albany (now Scotland)† into Ireland (then Scotland), amongst other captives to be sold, to the day of his death. These worthless monks filled their monastery with forgery and falsehood. The "*charta sancti Patricii*," so ably confuted by

* Of the acts of the bishops, B. 2, p. 254.

† His father, Calporn, a deacon, the son, formerly, of Potit, a priest, who was in a village *Bonavem Tabernie* (or, according to *Probus*, *Bannave Tyburnie*, a country not far from the western sea), had a little farm *Enon* hard by, where he gave himself up to capture. There is, in archbishop Ushers "*Veterum epistolarum Hibernicarum sylloge*; *Dublinii*, 1632, 4to. p. 32, in the epistle of Cummian an Irishman (born 592, died 661, Cave) to Segien, abbot of Hy, these words:—"Primum illum quem sanctus Patricius papa noster tulit et facit; in quo *Luná à xiiii. usque in xxi. regulariter et equinoctium à xii. kalend. April. observatur.*"

sir Thomas Ryves,* seems to have been one of their first attempts: this they forged in the person of saint Patrick and made him tell a parcel of fables about their pretended antiquities and supposititious saints, and this palpable forgery sir James Ware was so weak as to print, as a genuine work, in his "*Opuscula*" of saint Patrick (*Londini*, 1656, 8vo.) This, however, was not sufficient, but, the more firmly to establish the falsehood, forged, in the name of William of Malmesbury, "The three books, which of the life of saint Patrick, he wrote to the monks of Glastonbury," sometime, no doubt, after the death of this honest and worthy monk: which book Leland found in the library of the priory of Twinham in Hampshire, and gives a pretty long extract from it.† Neither was this the only work they attributed to him. Little, indeed, did he think, when for the sake of devotion, he attempted to cut off the finger of saint Carádoc, whose body was about to be translated, and who saved his finger from pollution, by a galvanick grasp, that, having been so laborious a historiographer, in his lifetime, he was, likewise, to be

* "*Regiminis Anglicani in Hibernia defensio, adversus Analecten* [David Roth]. *Libri tres. Autore Tho. Ryvio I. C. regis advocato.* *Londini*, 1624, 4to. p. 48.

† *Collectanea*, II. 273. This was a house of Austin canons.

compelled to labour for his brethren of Glastonbury, after his death : this, however, is an authenticated fact, for, exclusive of the forged life of saint Patrick, already mentioned, “ Tho. Gale, *Th. Pr.* (that is to say, in other words, doctor of divinity),” at Oxford, among his elaborate *Historiæ Britannicæ, Saxonicæ, Anglo-Danicæ, scriptores* XV. (1691, folio) has the epistle “*de excidio Britannicæ*” of Gildas, who, as he says (in Latin) “ wrote other things” [none of which, however, he, certainly, ever saw, or knew what any of them was]. “ Of him,” he adds, “ William of Malmesbury, in [his book] “*De antiquitate Glastoniensis ecclesiæ*, p. 296 [thus speaks] : “ Gildas, the historian ; to whom the Britons owe [it], if any thing of knowledge they have amongst other nations.” Now, it, unfortunately, happens, that this respectable historian never had the satisfaction of meeting with a copy of Gildas’s querulous epistle ; nor does he ever quote it, or, even, once mentions his name. It is a still more unfortunate circumstance for this learned doctor, since William of Malmesbury, in his undisputed and indisputable work “ Of the acts of the kings of the Engles ” (B. 3, p. 115), expressly asserts, that “ the grave of Arthur was never seen : ” this he said between the years 1135 and 1142, in the later of which he is, likewise, supposed to

have died : but his supposititious namesake, who-soever he was, no less expressly, asserts, “ I omit to speak of Arthur, the famous king of the Britons, in the cemetery of the monks [of Glastonbury], between two pyramids, interred with his wife.”* Now, it is a notorious fact that the grave of Arthur was, utterly, unknown, not only to William of Malmesbury, in 1142, but, certainly, to any one, not, even, to a single abbot or monk of Glastonbury, before the year 1191 or 1192 (as elsewhere, already, evinced), since, exclusive of those dates, repeatedly, occurring in the extracts of Lelands *Collectanea*, two monks of that church, who appear as its historians, in their own names, Adam, of Domerham, that is, and John of Glastonbury, both in print : the former of whom attributes the discovery of Arthurs bones to king Henry the second, who died on the 6th of July, 1189, and Henry of Sayle, the abbot, who, as we have seen, was not in that situation till some months after the kings death, and the latter, in the same year : both of them, in their respective accounts, lying, manifestly, according to the habit of a Glastonbury monk. Now, between the year of the real William of Malmesburys death, and the discovery of Arthurs grave, for the sake of a round number, without

* Page 306.

cavilling about a year more or less, is the difference of fifty years : so that this learned professor of theology, who had the manuscript transcribed or, it may be, transcribed it himself, and both published and quoted it, must, inevitably, pass for one who should not have meddled with the publication of old manuscripts which he did not understand ; and this not being the only blunder he has committed, even, as it will appear in the publication of this spurious book : though, as the queen, in *Hamlet*, exclaims,

“ One woe doth tread upon anothers heel ! ”

for Thomas Hearne, who has acquired the reputation of a great antiquary, from the prodigious number of volumes, mostly in Latin and, partly, in black letter, he edited, generally, if not, always, by subscription, and the liberal patronage of Robert and Edward, successively, earls of Oxford, though his subscribers may, peradventure, have, now and then, had no little difficulty to make some of them out or, haply, conjecture why they should have been published at all : as, according to a certain epigrammatical wit :

“ Pox on't, quoth Time, to Thomas Hearne,
Whatever I forget you learn.”

However this may be, honest Thomas actually reprinted, before the compilations of Adam of Domerham, the forged book of William of Malmesbury "of the antiquity of the church of Glastonbury," which must necessarily and manifestly have been composed fifty years after his death, the date of which [1142] he had got from John Pits, as Gale had done before him : but, as a proof of his candour, though not of his judgement, he says in his preface to the reader : " I do not dissemble, that a long time ago, the most illustrious Gale edited William [of Malmesbury]. Yes, truly, the edition of Gale abounds with many errors, gross and foul ; as, also, many omissions are discovered therein : "

" Thus one fool lolls his tongue out at another,
And shakes his empty noddle at his brother. " *

* After all, it must be acknowledged, that, though Gale and Hearne, undoubtedly, evinced a considerable want of both judgement and knowledge, in the duplicate publication of this spurious book : yet Leland is not without blame, as such a bombastical, fabulous, and absurd book as his "*Commentarii de scriptoribus Britannicis*," certainly, is, in which this identical forgery is by him (as well as Bale) attributed to William of Malmesbury, though it was not printed before 1709. However, it must be confessed, that Tanner is the most to blame, since he implicitly transcribes not only the prolix falsifications of Leland, but those of Bale and Pits and Thomas Dempster. Neither Camden, indeed, nor Usher, nor Browne Willis, nor

With respect to this fictitious book, of which so much has been said, it seems a compilation of various forgeries of the monks of Glastonbury, who were, particularly, addicted to that crime, that is to say, by their legends of pretended saints that never existed; then forged charters and grants, of property they never possessed; their fabricated relics of pigs bones;* their crucifixes, which, occasionally, spoke and sometimes shed blood: all these puppet-shews, however, were calculated for pilgrims and bigoted fools, who flocked in crowds, with their pecuniary, and, it may be, in some instances, territorial offerings; which brought grist to the mill, and satiated the gluttony of a parcel of fat and lazy monks, who passed their time in eating, drinking, and sleeping; braying like so many asses, at stated times, which was, impertinently, called singing and serving god. So much for the monks of the abbey of Glastonbury: and now for a few specimens of the forged and spurious book of the pseudo-William of Malmesbury:

“It is read in the gests of the most illustrious king Arthur, that, when in a certain festival of

Richard Gough, (*Sepulchral monuments*, I, xciii), had perspicacity to discover that a book which relates a circumstance which did not happen till 50 years after the death of the imputed author, cannot, possibly, have been written by HIM.

* See Chaucers *Pardoners tale*.

the birth-day of the lord, at Caerleon, a most brave youth, the son, to wit, of king Nuth, called Ider, had been decorated with military ensigns, and the same, for the sake of being experienced, into the mount of frogs, now called Brentknowl, where it had been given out to be three giants, most infamous for their evil deeds, was led to be about to fight against them; the same knight, going before Arthur and his attendants and not knowing it, having attacked, valiantly, the said giants, massacred them with marvellous slaughter: who being destroyed, Arthur coming up, finding the said Ider fainting by too much labour, and having fallen into a trance, altogether, without power of himself, the same as if dead was lamented with his companions. Returning, therefore, to their own homes, with ineffable sorrow, the body which was thought lifeless, until a vehicle had been destined thither to bear it away. Reputing himself the cause of his death, because he had come to his assistance too late, when, at last, he came to Glastonbury, he there instituted twenty-four monks for the soul of the same knight, possessions and territories, for their support, gold and silver, chalices, and other ecclesiastical ornaments, abundantly bestowing.*

* *Of the antiquity of the church of Glastonbury*, p. 307.

Among "the possessions given to Glastonbury, by the Engles converted to the faith," is the following donation by the same king :

"In the first place, king Arthur, in the time of the Britons, gave Brentemaris, Poweldon, with many other lands situated in the confine, for the soul of Ider, as above is touched, which lands by the Engles, then Pagans, coming upon them, being taken away, once more, after their conversion to the faith, they restored with many others."*

"Of the two pyramids." "That which is, almost, unknown to all, I shall willingly declare, if I should be able to get at the truth, what those pyramids will to themselves; which placed, by some feet, from the old church, surround the cemetery of the monks : the higher, truly, and nearer to the church hath five storys and the altitude of twenty-six feet; this, by reason of its too great age, although it threatens ruin, hath, nevertheless, some spectacles of antiquity, which, plainly, may be read, although, they may not be fully understood. In the higher story, truly, is an image made in the pontifical habit. In the second, an image holding forth a royal pomp and the letters : *Her, Sexi* and *Blisyer*. In the

* *Of the antiquity of the church of Glastonbury*, p. 326.

third, nothing less than the names : *Wemerest*, *Bantomp*, *Pinepegn*. In the fourth : *Hats*, *Pulfred* and *Eanfled*. In the fifth, which, also, is the lower : an image and this writing : *Logpor*, *Peslicas* and *Bregden*, *Spelpes*, *Hyin Gendes*, *Bern*. The other pyramid, truly, hath eighteen feet and (four) storys, in which these are read : *Hedde*, bishop, and *Bregored*, and *Beorwald*. What these may signify, not, rashly, I define, but, from suspicion, I collect, more within, in hollow stones to be contained the bones of those, whose names are read more without. Certainly, *Logpor* is for certain asserted to be, of whose name *Log peres-beorh* was called, which now is called Mount-acute. *Bregden* from whom *Brenta-cnolle*, which now is called *Brentamerse*. *Beorwald*, notwithstanding, the abbot after Hemgisel, of whom and the rest, who may occur.”*

* *Of the antiquity of the church of Glastonbury*, p. 306. These names are, clearly, those of Saxons interred in this cemetery, and, of course, cannot be very ancient and, at any rate, they do not concern king Arthur : further than if it can be proved, that his bones were found between these two pyramids. *Beorwald* : is Beortwald, archbishop of Canterbury, who died 731 (*Saxon chronicle*) ; *Bern* : Beorn, general, burned in Silton, 780, or Beorn, earl, killed by Swain and buried at Winchester, 1046. (*Ib.*) *Eanfled* : Eanfled, daughter of king Edwin, born 626. (*Ib.*) *Hedde* bishop : Hedde, bishop of Winchester, died 703. (*Ib.*)

“There is,” says Leland, “in the archives of Cambridge the table of a charter formerly bestowed by Arthur in favour of the students.”* This charter is inserted at length, in John Cays first book “Of the antiquity of the university of Cambridge:” printed at London, 1568, by Henry Bynneman, 8vo. p. 68, 69, and republished by Hearne, along with “Thomas Cays Assertion of the antiquity of the university of Oxford,” (Oxford, 1730, p. 48). It begins thus: “Arthur, being supported, by god, in the regal dignity, to all his [lieges] greeting,” and thus ends: “Given in the year from the incarnation of the lord 531, the seventh day of April, in the city of London:” So that it would seem that the doctors and students of the university of Cambridge were no less dexterous in diplomattick forgery than the abbot and monks of the convent of Glastonbury.

* *Collectanea*, V, 27. In the library at Naward-castle, near Brampton, in Cumberland, belonging to the earl of Carlisle, is still preserved, standing on the floor, a huge volume of three vellum leaves, being the original legend of Joseph of Arimathea, which Leland beheld with admiration, on his visit to Glastonbury-abbey.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

Extracts from the lives of Welsh saints.

A COTTON-MANUSCRIPT, in the British-museum, described by the title of Vespasian, A. XIV, contains (amongst other things) the lives of fourteen Welsh saints, archbishops, bishops, abbots, and confessors (to wit) 1st, The life of saint Gundlei, king and confessor: 2d, The life of saint Cadoc, bishop and martyr: 3d, The life of saint Iltut, abbot: 4th, The life of saint Teliau, archbishop of Llandaf, 512: 5th, The life of saint *Dubricius*, archbishop of the same see, died 512 (being succeeded by Teliau):† 6th, The life of saint David, archbishop of Mynynw (*Menevia*, afterward, from himself, Saint-Davids), who died in 546, written by Ricemarch, bishop of Saint-Davids, who died in 1096:‡ 7th, The life of

† Another life of saint Dubricius, 7.

‡ Another life of saint David, by Gerald Barry, bishop of Saint-Davids, who says "it was reported saint David to have been the uncle of king Arthur." (*Anglia Sacra*, II, 628.)

saint Bernac, confessor : 8th, The life of saint Patern, bishop : 9th, The life of saint Clitauc, king and martyr : 10th, The life of saint Keby, bishop : § 11th, The life of saint Tathei, confessor : 12th, The life of saint Carantoc, confessor : 13th, The life of saint Aidui, bishop : 14th, The life of saint Brendan, abbot, (which wants the last leaf). The 1st, 2d, and 8th lives, make mention of king Arthur, containing, frequently, an anecdote, a tale or a miracle, whence it is inferred that they have been written after the publication of Geoffrey of Monmouths "History of the kings of Britain," in 1139 and [are] consequently, a series of fables, and forgeries : although the manuscript which contains these lives is, apparently, of the thirteenth century. The first instance, in the life of saint Gundlei, is related as follows : " King Gundlei, being now established in his kingdom, greatly, desired, with a flagrant affection, that there should be united to him, in lawful marriage, a certain damsel sprung from a most noble lineage, of elegant beauty, indeed and, likewise, in form, highly, decorous and clothed with golden vests, whose name was Gladusa, the daughter of a certain kinglet, called Brachan, on account of her most odoriferous

* Another life of saint Keby, 14.

fame. He, from that time sent a great many messengers to the father of the virgin, who were, very earnestly, to require, that she might be betrothed to him as his wife. But the father of the damsel, the message being received, indignant and replete with fury, refused to betrothe his daughter to him, and despised the messengers and dismissed them without honour. They, bearing this hardly and, informing their lord what had been done toward them, returned: which being heard, the king, raging, with too much fury, armed, as soon as possible, three hundred servants, in order that they might carry off the premised damsel by force. Then straightway, taking the journey, that he might come to the court of the prescribed king, called Talgard, they found the beforementioned virgin, sitting at the door of her chamber with her sisters and listening to chaste discourse, whom, incontinently, taking by force, they returned with a speedy course: which [ill-tidings] being received, her father Brachan, in grief of heart, touched, inwardly, at the loss of his most dear daughter, with tears, called to his assistance all his friends and companions, to bring her back. All his auxiliaries summoned being now assembled, with swift courses, he pursues the enemy and his accomplices; whom, when Gundlei

had beheld, he ordered, repeatedly, the said daughter to be brought and caused her to ride with him. He, however, without flying, but step by step, carrying with him the young woman on a horse, preceded the army, expecting his knights, and manfully exhorting them to battle. But Brachan, with his forces, boldly, attacking the hostile king and, likewise, his attendants, two hundred being overthrown, pursued them to a hill, in the confines, as it were, of each country, which, in the British tongue is called Bochr'uicarn, which is interpreted a stony way. But, when Gundlei, sound in body, with the before-noticed virgin, although lamenting the very great slaughter in fighting with his adversaries, had reached the bounds of his territory, behold! three most brave heroes, Arthur, with his two knights,* Kay, that is, and Bedver, sitting upon the top of the aforesaid hill, playing at dice. They, forsooth, discerning the king, with the damsel, approaching them, Arthur, therefore, too much inflamed with unlawful desire toward the love of the young woman, and full of iniquitous thought, said to his companions, Know, that I am, vehemently, inflamed to the earnest desire of this damsel, whom the knight

* There were no knights in Arthurs time nor (as has been before observed) for many centuries after him.

carries on horseback : but they, prohibiting him, said, Far from thee be it to commit so great a crime : for we are used to help the needy and the troubled, who, hard by this straight, running together from the battle, shall come up the sooner : but, he replied, For-as-much-as, you rather wish to succour him than, violently, to take away from him the damsel for me, go meet them and, diligently, enquire which of them is the heir of this country. They, forthwith, departing and enquiring, according to the kings precept, Gundlei answers, Witness god and all the most learned of the Britons ! that I profess myself to be the heir of this land. The messengers being returned to their lord and having related to him what they had heard from him, Arthur and his associates, being armed, rushed upon the enemies of Gundlei and, their backs being turned, put them to flight, with great confusion, to their own country. Then Gundlei, triumphing by the support of Arthur, proceeded with the prescribed virgin, Gladusa, to his palace. Therefore, these things being transacted, king Gundlei allied to himself, in lawful marriage, the prescribed daughter of Brachan, by name Gladusa." (Folio 17, b.) The second instance, in the life of saint Cadoc, is related thus : " In the same time a certain leader of the Britons,

most brave, by name Ligés-Sauc, son of Eliman, by surname, also, Lau-hiir, alike, Long-hand, killed three knights of Arthur, the most illustrious king of Britain. As to the rest, Arthur pursuing him on every side, he nowhere found a safe place and no one durst defend him for fear of the aforesaid king, until, at length, fatigued by very frequent flight, he came, a fugitive, to the man of god: who, having compassion of his sufferings confiding in the lord, very graciously, received him. Nothing, truly, fearing Arthur, he remained, therefore, with him, in the region Gunliauc, safe for seven years, Arthur being ignorant: which being rolled away, the same, again, betrayed to the aforesaid king, at last, for the sake of pleading that which by force with the man of god, he would, in no-wise, dare to contend, he came with a very great force of knights to the river Osk. Messengers, therefore, being directed to the king, the man of god enquired from him if he would appoint the controversy 'to' the arbitrament of sage judges. But he acquiesced. For saint Cadoc, out of three several parts of that same country, David, to wit, Teliau, Iltut and Dochou, being sent for, with many other clerks and the elder judges of all Britain being gathered together, as far as to the bank of the very great river Osk, he, himself,

preceding, in like manner, met. There, also, in the manner of enemies, from each part of the river, discussing the cause, with bitter words, they litigated, a very long time, on both sides. After this respite of altercation, however, the more learned men of the judges decreed Arthur, for the ransom to every one of the men killed, ought to receive three best oxen. Others, truly, enacted a hundred cows to be granted to him for the price of the prescribed men : for in ancient times, among the Britons, this kind of judgement and that price were established by the ministers of kings and dukes. This being accepted, Arthur, insulting, refused the cows of one colour, but it contented him to receive those discoloured (to wit) in the fore part of a red, in the hinder part, truly, of a white colour, distinct, with very much backwardness of gestures. Those, for-as-much-as, because they should have found cattle of this kind of colour, being altogether, ignorant, hesitated what counsel they should take upon these things. Wherefore the man of god, in the name of the three persons, commanded the young men of the council, so far forth as nine or, like as, some confess, a hundred, heifers, to drive to himself, of whatsoever colour they should be. That, however, the before-noted beasts were brought before the eyes of himself

and of the other servants of god. By the divine work, for the depraved desire of Arthur, in the before-essayed colours, for the benevolent prayer and wish of the just, they were, straightway, changed [into different colours]. The train of the whole clergy, however, and many others the faithful of god assembled together by that blessed man, beholding this miracle, rejoiced with great joy, very much glorifying god. Moreover, the man of the lord consulted, how far, by right, the before-rehearsed oxen [he] ought to drive and, on each side, the company of the judges answered: Right, truly, those collected together, 'thou' [oughtest] to drive to the middle of the ford. He, therefore, drove them as far as that place, and Arthur, Chei and Bedguur ran to them, the rest sitting on the shore. But Chei and Bedguur, desiring, earnestly, drew them, with the hands, to the other shore, by the horns, but, immediately, between their hands, all seeing, by the divine will, they were transformed into bundles of fern: which prodigy Arthur beholding, that to himself the injury was discharged, for the reason it had been set upon him."

The next instance is the visitation of saint Iltut to the court of king Arthur: "Hearing a magnificent knight of king Arthur, his cousin-german, his magnificence, he desired to visit

the court of so great a conqueror, he deserted that which we call the further Britain and came, sailing, where he saw the greatest abundance of knights. There, likewise, being received with honour, and enriched to military desire. His desire, however, of taking gifts being fulfilled, he departed, most grateful, from the royal court." (Fo. 43.) The next instance appears in the life of saint Patern, which is thus related : "When Patern, after many labours, rested in the church of *Mauritania*,* a certain tyrant walked up and down these regions, on all sides, by name Arthur ; who, on a certain day, coming to the cell of the holy bishop, and speaking to him, beheld his tunick (which, woven with gold, he had been enriched with, at his ordination, by the patriarch of Jerusalem) and, stabbed by the zeal of envy, requested it : to whom the saint said, This tunick is not deserved by any great man, whomsoever, but, only, by a clerk consecrated to god. He, however, being displeased, went out of the monastery and, again, indignantly, returned, as if to take it away by force against the counsels of his earls. Now, one of the disciples, seeing him coming back in a fury, ran to saint Patern and said, The tyrant, who, hence, before

* A corruption of "*Llan-Padern-vaur*," or the great church of [bishop] Padern, in Cardiganshire.

went out, is returned with insulting fury. Patern said, Nay, rather, let the earth swallow him up ! which being said, immediately, the earth opened its mouth and swallowed Arthur up to the chin : who, therefore, acknowledging his guilt, began to praise god and saint Patern ; until, humbly, entreating pardon, the earth sent him forth upward. Then the saint to the king (imploing his pardon with bended knees) granted a kind look." This miracle, likewise, occurs in the life of saint Patern, inserted in the *Acta Sanctorum*, *Aprilis*, II, 378. He died about 560. (Folio 79, b.)

The last instance is that in the life of saint Carantoc, which, by the compilers of the *Acta Sanctorum* (Maii, III, 585), is "suspected of much falsehood:" "In these times Cato and Arthur reigned in this country, inhabiting in Dindraithou and Arthur going about, that he might find a most powerful, huge [and] terrible serpent, which had wasted twelve parts of a field (to wit) Carrum and Carantoc came and saluted Arthur, who, rejoicing, received a blessing from him, and Carantoc asked Arthur whether he had heard where his altar had arrived, and Arthur answered : If I shall have a price, I will tell thee ; and he said : What price dost thou require ? He answered : That thou ledest the serpent

which is near to thee, that we may see if thou beest the servant of god. Then the blessed Carantoc went and prayed to god, and, forthwith, came the serpent, with a great noise, as if it were a calf running to her mother, and bowed its head before the servant of god: as if it were an obedient to his lord, with a humble heart and meek eyes, and put his stole about its neck and led it as if it were a lamb, nor raised its quills or claws,* and its neck was as if it were the neck of a bull of seven years: that the stole could, scarcely, go round it. Afterward, they went together and saluted Cato and were well received by him, and he led the serpent into the middle of the hall and fed it before the people, and they endeavoured to kill it. He left him not to be killed, because he said it had come from the word of god: that it should destroy all the sinners which were in Carrum, and that he would show the virtue of god by it, and, afterward, went out at the gate of the tower and Carantoc loosed it and commanded it, that, departing, it should hurt no man nor return any more, and it went and continued as the ordinance of god before said and took the altar, which Arthur had

* These, it is to be presumed, are the peculiar properties of a Welsh serpent, composed of a porcupine and an owl: quills and claws.

intended to make into a table, but whatsoever was put upon it was thrown at a distance and the king requested from him that he might receive Carrum, by a public instrument, for everlasting and, afterward, built a church there. Afterward, came a voice from heaven, that the altar should be thrown into the sea. Next after that Cato sent Arthur that he should ask about the altar and it was told to them, that it had been driven into the mouth of the Guellit, and the king said : In like manner, give to him the twelve parts of the field, where the altar was found." (P. 90.)

No. II.

The Answer of [Dionothus] the Abbot of Bangor, to Augustino the monk, requiring subjection to the Roman church, about the year 603 ; in Welsh and English ; (word for word) : out of Spelman's *Concilia*.*

Bid yspys a diogel i chwi, yn bod ni holl un ac arall yn uvydd ac ynn ostyngedyg i Eglwys Duw ac ir paab o Ruvain, ac i bool kyur grissdion dwyvol, i garu pawb yn i radd mewn kariad perffaith, ac i helpio pawb, o honaunt a gair a gweithred i vod ynn blant i dduw : ac amgenach uvydddod no hwn nid adwen i vod ir neb ir yddych chwi yn henwi yn baab ne yn daad o daade yw gleimio ac yw ovunn. Ar uvydddod hwn ir yddym ni yn barod yw rod-di ac yw dalu iddo ef, ac i pop krisdion yn dragwyddol. Hevyd in ydym in dan ly wodraeth esgob Kaerllion ar Wyse yr hwn ysydd yn olygwr dan dduw arnobm ni y wneuthud i ni gadwyr ffordd ys brydol.

Be it known and certain to you, that we are all and singular obedient and subject to the church of god and to the pope of Rome, and to every pious

* This is, in all probability, the oldest and best authenticated specimen of the British or Welsh language now extant. Sir Henry had it from an old MS. of Peter Mostin, a Welsh gentleman, copied, no doubt, from one still older.

christian, to love every one in his degree with perfect charity, and to help every one of those, and by word and deed, to be the sons of god : and other obedience than this I know not due to him whom you name the pope, or the father of fathers to challenge and to require. But this obedience we are ready to give and pay to him, and to every christian for ever. Moreover we are under the government of the bishop of Caerleon upon Usk, who is superintendent under god over us to make us keep the spiritual way.

No. III.

British and Welsh Saints.

Aaron and Julius, martyrs ; 1st of July, about 304.
Aidui.

Alban, martyr.

Almedha, virgin and martyr ; 1st August, in the sixth century.

Amphibalus, a nonentity ; being only a name given by Gildas to St. Albans cloak.

Asaph, bishop ; 1st May, toward the beginning of the seventh century.

Augul, bishop and martyr ; 7th of February.

Barcian, confessor.

Barruc, confessor, disciple of St. Cadoc ; 27th of September.

Benedict, abbot

Bernach, confessor ; 9th of March.

Brendan, abbot ; 17th of May. *Irish.*

Cadoc or Sophias, bishop and martyr ; 24th of January, in the sixth century.

Cadroë, abbot ; 6th of March, 988.

Carantoc, confessor ; 16th of January, in the sixth century.

Cinvarch, the disciple of St. Dubricius.

Clytauc, king and martyr ; 3d of November.

Constantine, king, monk, and martyr ; 11th of March.

Cradoc, confessor ; 14th of April.

Crisant and Dario, martyrs ; 1st of December or February.

Cuthman, confessor ; 8th of July.

Daniel, bishop of Bangor ; died about 545.

David, archbishop of Menevia ; 1st of March, 544.

Decuman, confessor.

Dochelm, confessor ; 8th of July.

Dochow, priest and confessor ; 15th of February.

Dubricius, archbishop and confessor ; 14th of November, 512.

Elvan, bishop, and Meduin ; 1st of January, about 198.

Faustinian and Juventia, martyrs ; 16th of February.

Gildas, the wise, abbot ; 29th of January, in the sixth century.

Gistlian, bishop and confessor.

Gundlei, confessor ; 29th of March.

Iltut.

Ismael, bishop and confessor ; 16th of June.

Julius. See Aaron.

Justinian, contemporary with Sts. Daniel and David.

Keby, bishop and confessor ; 7th of November.

Keyne, virgin ; 8th of October, in the fifth or sixth century.

Kieran, bishop and confessor.

Kigwe, virgin ; 8th of February.

Kyned, contemporary with Sts. David, Theliau, Pattern, &c.*

* This saint was the son of Dihoc, prince of Little Britain by his own daughter ; and was born in a province, by name *Goyr*, about a mile from the palace of king Arthur. See *Usher*, 275.

- Luidger, bishop and confessor ; 26th of March.
Maidoc, bishop and confessor.
Ninian, bishop and confessor ; 16th of September.
Nonnita, mother of St. David.
Oudoceus, bishop of Landaf ; 11th of July, 563.
Patern, bishop and confessor ; 15th of April, about
560.
Patrick, bishop and confessor ; 17th of March. *Irish*.
Tavanauc, confessor ; 25th of November.
Teliau, or Thelieu, bishop ; 9th of February, 544.
Teuderi, confessor ; 29th of October.
Tisoi (*Monasticon Anglicanum*), III., 202.
Winifred, virgin and martyr

No. IV.

Welsh Saints.

THESE names are extracted from the “*Achey yr Santy*,” a MS. in the Harleian library, number 4181, containing the pedigrees of several British saints, (taken out of an old Welsh MS. written upon vellum, about 1250), then late in the custody of Edward Lhuyd of the Ashmolean museum. Those within crotchets are from “The pedigrees of severall British saints, taken out of an old Welsh manuscript of Mr. John Lewis of Lhuynweney, in Radnorshire, wrote about the time of Queen Elizabeth:” (also in Harl. MS. 4181.)

[Arianwen.]

Assa.

Avan Buellt [Ascun Buelld]

Beuno.

[Brychan.]

Buan.

Cannen.

Carannauc

Collen.

[Deiniol.]

Deinyoel.

Deunauc.

Dewi.

Doevael.

[Dwynwen y mon.]
[Dyfnawg.]
[Eda elyn vawr.]
Edern.
[Eiluwy.]
Einyaun Vrenhin.
Elaeth Vrenhin.
[Elerw.]
Elhaern.
[Elnog.]
Emgen Merch Vaelgun Guyned.
[Esdyn.]
[Garmon.]
[Gawr.]
Gildas mab kadu [vab Kaw o Bridain.]
[Glydav.]
Gorust.
Guenan.
Gurhel.
[Gurnerth.]
Guydvarch.
Guynlleu.
[Gwaurdhydh verch Vrychan.]
[Gwen verch Vrychan.]
[Gwenvrewi.]
[Gwrie.]
Henwyn.
[Henwau.]
[Idaw.]
Idloes.
[Jestin ap Geraint ap Erbyn.]

Kadell.

[Kattuc.]

Katvan sant yn Henlli.

Katvarth sant yn Aberych.

Katwalaudyr Vendigeit.

[Kededr.]

[Kederig verch Vrychan.]

Keiday.

[Keidraw.]

[Kenedlon.]

Kowy.

[Krisdoffis.]

Kybi.

[Kwywen vab ' Kaffi of Llyn. ']

[Kynant.]

Kyngar.

[Kynvran.]

Kynvelyn.

[Lhydhelyn or Trallwng.]

Llendat.

Llenyan Llauyur.

[Lleydhad ag Eithras.]

Llywelyn or Trallyng.

Madrun.

Maelrys.

Melangell.

[Melyd Esgob Lhyndain.]

Merchyll.

Nidam.

[Noydaw or Predyr gwynog meibion Gildas ap Kaw o
Brydain.]

[Oswalt.]

Ovyhael.

Padarn.

Patric.

[Pawl vab Pawlpolins.]

[Pebblig.]

Pedrauc.

[Pedwgr.]

Pedyr.

Peris sant kardinal o Revein

Podo a Guynnin.

[Rydegawg.]

[Saeran.]

[Sant Fred verch duthach Wyddel.]

[Silwen verch Geraint vab Erbyn.]

[Sliav, or Eliaw Keimad.]

[Tadwystl.]

[Tair Gwelly.]

[Tair Gwagedh.]

Tecvan.

Tedetho.

Tegei.

Teilyau.

Trunyav.

Tussiliau map Brochmael.

Tutclut a Gwennoedyl.

[Tydew verch Vrychan.]

[Tydwall.]

[Tydwen.]

[Tyfrydawg.]

Tyssul.

Tyvredauc.

Ystyphan.

No. V.

Cornish Saints.

Advene, Advent, Athawyn, or Adwen; one of the twenty-four children of Brochan, prince of Wales, all of whom were saints, martyrs, or confessors, in Devonshire and Cornwall, leading the life of a hermit. (See Lelands *Collectanea*, III. 153; and Camden.)

Allan or Allen.

Alwys.

Austell, hermit, (Lelands *Collectanea*); Trinity sunday, Q. 31st of May.

Beryan.

Blazey (*Blasius*); two bishops and a martyr; all three on the 3d of February. (*Acta SS.*)

Breage or Breock, a native of Ireland, bishop of Armorica, obliged to fly to Guernsey, for his opposition to Arianism, and died there: others say that he outlived the persecution, returned to his bishoprick, and there died, in 556, S. Breacca: See Lelands *Itinerary*, III. 15.

Brewer, William, son of sir William Brewer, knight, bishop of Exeter, 1223-44. This, at the same time, is a singular instance of a saint by a surname.

Bruard or Buard.

Budoc or Budoke, an Irishman. See Lelands *Itinerary*, III. 25.

Burien.

Carac, Carock or Carrock.

Carantoc or Karantoc, son of Keretic, king of Britain.

See Lelands *Itinerary*, III. 195.

Cleer, (*Clara, virgo*, or *Clarus*, presbyter and martyr.)

Cleather, Clether or Cleder, one of the twenty-four children of Brochan.

Columb, virgin and martyr; 16th of March. (See *Camdeni Epistolæ*, p. 91.

Constantine, king, monk, and martyr; 11th of March, 556. (Domesday-book.)

Credan. See Lelands *Collectanea*, I. 10.

Creed.

Cullan.

Dachuna, a man in *Botraeme* (Bodmin). See Lelands *Collectanea*, I. 10.

Daye, Dey, or Dye, of Gaul.

Diep.

Dilic, one of the twenty-four children of Brochan.

Dominick.

Earney.

Earth, Erth or Erne.

Endelion, Endelyan or Endelient, one of the twenty-four children of Brochan. (See Lelands *Collectanea*, III. 153); of Menevia or Saint Davids, 563.

Enedor.

Erme or Ermets, (Norden, *Hermes*,) confessor; 28th of August.

Ernan or Ervan, (Q. Hernon, bishop of St. Davids?)

Erne, (Norden.)

Erth. See Lelands *Itinerary*, III. 20.

Eual, Eval, Uval or Vuel (Norden).

Ewe, Eva, or Tew, (Iwy, John of Tinmouth).

Ewste or Just, bishop and martyr.

Gennis, (*Genesius*) ; 25th of August.

Germain, bishop and confessor.

Germoc or Germoke. See Lelands *Itinerary*, III.

16.

Germore.

Geron.

Gillet. See Juliet.

Ginoc or Ginoke, (Lelands *Itinerary*, III. 36.)

Glurias.

Gomonda.

Goran or Gurran ; lived solitarily, in a vale, in a small cottage ; which, leaving, he delivered up to saint Petroc. (*Monasticon Anglicanum*, I. 213.)

Grade, (Norden).

Guendern, Wendern or Wendron.

Guenor, (Lelands *Collectanea*, I. 213.)

Guerrir, (Domesday-book.)

Guinow. See Winnow.

Gulwal.

Gwenap or Wenap.

Helie, one of the twenty-four children of Brochan.

Hydrock.

Illogan.

Issey, Issoye, or Yse, one of the twenty-four children of Brochan.

Ive, Ithe or Ics, (Lelands *Itinerary*, III. 21.)

Jona, one of the twenty-four children of Brochan.

Juc.

Julian, one of the same children.

Juliet. See Gillet.

Just. See Ewste.

Kananc, one of the twenty-four children of Brochan.

Keby, Cuby or Key, son of Solomon, king, duke, or earl of Cornwall, about 350.

Kenven.

Kenwel, (Norden.)

Kerender, one of the twenty-four children of Brochan.

Keri, one of the same children.

Kevern, (*Keiven* or *Coemgen*, an Irish saint.)

Keyne, virgin, a Welsh saint.

Kew, (Norden.)

Kilberd or Kibberd, (Norden.)

Levan, (saint Livin), an Irish bishop, martyred in 656.

Maben or Mabyn, one of the twenty-four sons of Brochan.

Macra.

Madern.

Marnarch.

Marvenne.

Maw or Mawe. At Saint Mawes, in Lelands time, was "a chapelle of hym, and his chaire of stone, and his welle." (*Itinerary*, III. 30.)

Maudit or Mawes. (See Lelands *Itinerary*, III. 29.)

Mawnan, Mawnon or Mawnoun. (See *ibi*, 24.)

Medan. (See Lelands *Collectanea*, I. 10.)

Meline, Mellion or Mullian.

Melor, son of Melian, king of Cornwall. See Lelands *Itinerary*, III. 194.

Menfre, one of the twenty-four children of Brochan.

Meren, Menyn or Merewen, another of the same children.

Merther, (Norden.)

Metherion.

Meva and Gissey, or Issey. (Norden.)

Mewan, abbot of Ghe, in Britany.

Mewbred.

Minver.

Mogun.

Moran, Moren or Morwen, one of the twenty-four children of Brochan.

Nectan or Nighton, another of the same children.

Nedye.

Neoth or Niot, of Hunstock, buried at Hartland.

His monastery is mentioned in Domesday-book.

Newlin. (See Lelands *Collectanea*, I. 116.)

Nunn.

Olave.

Patern, a Welsh saint, of the sixth century.

Penan, (*Keran* or *Kīaran*, an Irish saint. See Usher, 413.)

Petherwick, Petherick or Petroc, abbot; 4th of June, in the sixth century. (See *Monasticon Anglicanum*, I. 213, co. 1.) He had a monastery in Cornwall, which was ruined by the Danes. See Roger of Howden, 427.)*

* “ In this same year [1177] Martin, a canon regular of the church of Bodmin, carried off by stealth, the body of saint Petroc, and, flying with him, brought him into Britany, to the

Petherwyn.

Pratt.

Pynneck.

Roch, a native of Languedoc, died the 16th of August, 1327.

Rumon.

Sampson, archbishop of Caerleon.

Stedians.

Tallan (Q. Allan).

Tamalanc, one of the twenty-four children of Brochan.

Teath, (*Tatheus, confessor.*)

Tedda, one of the twenty-four children of Brochan.

Tissey (Q. *Issey*).

Tudy (*Deus-dedit*, or *A-deo-datus*, archbishop of Canterbury, 654. Q.

abbey of Saint Meven : which being found out, Roger, prior of the Church of Bodmin, with the sounder part of his chapter, went to the King of England the father, [Henry II. that is, his eldest son, being, at the same time, Henry III.] and effected so much toward the king, that commanding, he sent to the abbot and convent of saint Neven, that without delay they should render the blessed Petroc to Roger, prior of Bodmin, and, unless they did, the king commanded Rowland of Dinant, justiciary of Britany, that he should take up that holy body by force, and deliver it to the aforesaid prior of Bodmin : which being heard, the abbot and convent of saint Meven, taking care before-hand to the indemnity of their church, and not daring to resist the kings will, rendered that body, without any diminution, to Roger, prior of Bodmin, swearing upon the holy gospels, and upon the relicks of the saints, that the very same body, and not another, with all integrity, they rendered." (*Idem*. 567.)

Tue. (Norden.)

Veep or Wymp, one of the twenty-four children of Brochan.

Verion, Verryan or Virion.

Wencu, one of the twenty-four children of Brochan.

Wenher, one of the same children.

Wenn, another of them.

Wensent, another.

Winnow, (*Guenau*, a Breton saint); 31st of November.

. All these names are, or a couple of centuries ago, were preserved in those of parishes, chapelries, towns, villages, hamlets or single houses; the anniversary of each saint being known upon the spot. It would seem, however, that many such places, which bore the appellation or prefixure of *saint*, in Nordens time, have now lost it.

No. VI.

Breton Saints.

Aaron, monk ; 22d of June, in the sixth century.

Armagil, confessor ; 16th of August, 553.

Brioc, bishop ; 1st of May, in the fifth or sixth century.

Eoharn, hermit and martyr ; 11th of February, about 1020.

Genevé, bishop of Dol ; 29th of July, 639.

Gildas, abbot ; 29th of January, 570.

Gohard, bishop and martyr ; 25th of June, 843.

Guenau ; 3d of November.

Guinolé. See Winwaloë.

Gurloës, abbot ; 25th of August, 1057.

Gurval, bishop of Alethen ; 6th of June, in the seventh century.

Joava or Jovin, of Leoné ; 2d of March, in the sixth century.

Leonorius, bishop ; 1st of July, in the sixth century.

Mein, 21st of June.

Meriadoc, bishop of Veneti ; 7th of June, in the seventh century.

Ninnoc, virgin ; 4th of June, in the eighth century.

Patern, bishop ; 15th of April, about 560.

Rioc, monk of Landevenec ; 12th of February, in the fifth century.

Ronan, bishop and hermit ; 1st of June, in the sixth century.

Samson, bishop of Dol ; 28th of July, about 565.

- Solomon, king and martyr ; 25th of June, 874.
Tudwal, Tugdual or Tugwal, bishop of Trecore ; 30th of November.
Tuian, abbot ; 1st of February.
Turian or Turiav, bishop of Dol ; 13th of July in the eighth century.
William, bishop of Brioc ; 29th of July, 1237.
Winwaloë, abbot of Landevenec ; 3d of March, in the sixth century.





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